













# HANDBOOK OF PAINTING.

THE

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF KUGLER, BY A LADY

EDITED BY

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PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

THIRD EDITION.

WITH MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE WORKS OF THE OLD MASTERS, DRAWN ON WOOD, BY GEORGE SCHIARDT, JUN.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART I.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1855.



## AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.<sup>1</sup>

THE first edition of the 'Handbook of the History of Painting, from the Age of Constantine to the Present Time,' appeared in 1837. The ten years that have since elapsed have changed, in many respects, not only the opinions of the author, but the standard of knowledge respecting art and its history generally.

At the time to which we refer, we were standing, though almost unconsciously so, at the close of a period which may be said to have commenced with that work exercising so important an influence on the minds of artists, and known by the title of 'Herzen's *Ergiessungen eines Kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*.'<sup>2</sup> Our schools

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> ['Heart-outpourings of an Art-loving Monk.' This little volume—the work chiefly of Wackenroder, a young painter, with some additions by Ludwig Tieck—was first published in 1797. In the following year (the year of Wackenroder's death) appeared the '*Phantasien über die Kunst*,' by the same authors. The effusions of Wackenroder in both works were republished by Tieck in 1814 under the latter title; the contributions of the friend and editor being, out of respect to the memory of the painter, then omitted. Some writers, for example Raczyński, in his '*Histoire de l'Art Moderne en Allemagne*,' deny the exclusive influence of literature in producing the change which took place in the taste of the Germans early in the present century, and trace that change to remoter causes as well as to then recent political events. (See, on this subject, some observations by the Editor of this Handbook "on the origin of the modern German School of Fresco-painting" in his '*Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*.' Granting, however, that the writers of Germany had great influence on the revolution in art referred to, it still appears rather bold on the part of the author of the present work to date such a change from a single book. Besides the '*Phantasien über die Kunst*,' already noticed, the Essays of Friedrich Schlegel in the periodical called the '*Europa*;' the celebrated art novel, '*Franz Sternbald's Wanderungen*,' by L. Tieck; Goethe's '*Reise am Rhein, Main und Neckar*;' and numerous other publications, criticisms, works of fiction, travels, and historical researches, imbued with the same spirit, tended more or less to confirm the then national predilection. The epithet "romantic," employed by the author, is to be understood as opposed to "classical," and designates the art of the middle ages uninfluenced by the imitation of the antique. A few of the early champions of this direction in art still survive and are true to their first profession, while those of the present German painters who have abjured such extreme views have unconsciously profited by the severer education which they owed to the example of their predecessors.—ED.]

of painting embodying that tendency of art to which the denomination of "romantic" has been given, were celebrating their last triumphs. A general poetic interest, and the valuable results of a wide-spread dilettanteism, had disclosed to us the rich world of art belonging to the middle ages. The researches of critical knowledge had begun to elucidate the history of those ages, and Rumohr's '*Italienische Forschungen*,' though the immediate result of the prevailing tendency, had gone far beyond it.

The views and inquiries thus entered into during this "romantic" period were found no longer to assimilate with older systems—such, for example, as those contained in Lanzi's '*History of Italian Painting*.' The want of a general survey of art was felt, in which the claims of an earlier period should have their due weight. My '*Handbook of the History of Painting*' was planned to supply this deficiency. It consisted of materials gathered together partly for my own information, and partly as notes for public lectures. Several tours, and one especially to Italy, undertaken shortly before, had enabled me to give to these materials, for the greater part, the freshness of personal observation. The work, I may now confess, was compiled and published with haste: the indulgence of the public, the general demand for such a book, and perhaps that freshness to which I have alluded, contributed to my impunity. It was as quickly approved as it had been compiled. In France large portions of it were translated and made use of in the literature of the day without any acknowledgment of the source whence they were taken. In England there appeared a translation enriched with notes, the first part of which, containing the Italian schools of painting, was edited by Mr. Eastlake.

Meanwhile, further critical researches regarding art were actively prosecuted, and various works and contributions assisted to swell the materials, especially as regards the history of the darker ages of painting, in the most satisfactory manner. Gradually also the state of general opinion was undergoing a great change. The more the sources of knowledge and judgment enlarged, the more it became apparent that the modes of conception peculiar to the romantic period had confined our views within too limited a space, and that even so late as ten years previously such views had partaken too much of that contracting influence. That which had been looked upon as the highest was now gradually being estimated according to its real relative value, and much which had been condemned as worthless was admitted to take its distinctive and sometimes very considerable rank. The over zeal with which the one tendency had been advocated, and the coldness with which the

other had been dismissed, now gradually gave way before the increase of knowledge.

As far as possible, I had myself endeavoured to assist this development. My 'Handbook of the History of Art' was founded on those more enlarged views to which the general spirit of investigation and observation had given rise.

Meanwhile the second edition of the 'History of Painting,' which we now present to the public, had been long required, and those portions of my general 'Handbook of Art' which bore upon it had been, in some measure, a preparation for the work; nor had I, in other respects, neglected to collect necessary materials. Circumstances, however, made it impossible for me to undertake their compilation myself. It was necessary to commit them to other hands, and, after many vain attempts, I at length succeeded in finding a substitute in the present remodeller of this work—one to whom I could entrust the task with perfect confidence, and who, while long and intimately acquainted with my modes of thought and sources of knowledge, himself brought to it a large share of valuable information.

In conclusion, therefore, I can only express the wish that this book in its present altered form may be found suitable to the altered demands of the period, and that it may be received with the same indulgence that has hitherto been accorded to the works of the author.

F. KUGLER.

Berlin, 1st May, 1847.

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As fellow-labourer in this second edition, I may be allowed to add a few words to the above. In spite of my earnest endeavours to suit my style to that of the first edition, I have not always been successful. For this I must beg the indulgence of the reader: he may, perhaps, with greater justice, arraign me for the unequal proportion in which I have enlarged the present volume—allotting to the ancient mosaics, to Byzantine art, and to the commencement of modern Italian art, more additional space than to some other even more important parts. The expedience, however, of such circumstantiality of description was not to be determined merely by the artistic value of the subject, nor by the amount of specimens belonging to each period. It was our part rather to

<sup>1</sup> [*Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1842; a distinct work from the *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei*.—Ed.]

supply a work which should assist in the development of the history of civilisation, wherein those productions of which we have only retained the ruins, and those even of which we have only known the tradition, should take their places as witnesses of the century to which they belong. On the other hand, there are periods, such, for instance, as the 17th century, in which art, though spreading in its luxuriance over a wide surface, yet finds a natural limit in certain chosen and significant master-works, and in which the connoisseur, being fully possessed with the general standards of art, may be safely left to his own guidance. Finally, I may observe, that external completeness never entered into our design.

The materials from which I formed the additions to the first edition (wherever my own resources failed me) are of very various descriptions. Besides the works of Schnaase, Waagen, Passavant, Emeric David, Grüneisen, Kinkel, and others, I have had occasion to refer to a number of valuable papers in the last years of the 'Kunstblatt'; among which those supplied by Passavant, Waagen, E. Förster, Gaye, and others, have been of the greatest service to me. From Gaye's 'Carteggio' the most important facts are borrowed. It will readily be imagined that the transfer of materials of such various origins into the style and language of an already existing work, and, at the same time, the amalgamation therewith of a number of corrections and annotations by the original author into one whole, was no easy task. If I have occasionally failed in the best application of these resources, I must beg the indulgence of those writers to whom the history of art is so much indebted. That I have not availed myself of the assistance of Rosini in the history of the earlier Italian painting, is owing not so much to any disregard for his authority, as to an unwillingness to adopt his peculiar system, not generally approved even in Italy itself—a system which requires a thorough local investigation to substantiate. On the other hand, the German translation of Vasari, published by Schorn and E. Förster, and enriched with their notes, has been of the greatest assistance to me. Finally, I may be allowed here to express my thanks to many friends who took the kindest interest in this work. Dr. Stieglitz, of Vienna, furnished a number of valuable addenda; also Herr Hugot, keeper of the archives at Colmar. To Dr. Waagen, however, I feel most indebted, not only for his writings, but for much verbal information at all times readily imparted by him.

DR. JAC. BURCKHARDT.

Berlin, 1st May, 1847.

## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE foregoing prefaces explain the general nature of the present work, and refer to some of the changes which have been introduced into it. One alteration—consisting in the union of the history of the German and other schools of painting with that of the Italian school—it has not been thought advisable to adopt; the present volume is restricted, as before, to the history of Italian painting. The more enlarged critical views to which the author refers, will undoubtedly render the new edition more acceptable to those readers whose previous knowledge of art and its productions had been derived from compilations of the last century. The indulgence with which the works of the early Italian masters are regarded, may still, in some instances, convey too exalted an idea of their merit. A few notes by the editor, which in the former editions were intended to explain or qualify such views, have, therefore, been retained; on the other hand, the reader need hardly be reminded that the efforts in question prepared the brightest era of art, and contained within them the germs of a perfect development. The taste for such works is also now much more diffused among our collectors,<sup>1</sup> and the greater facility of consulting the specimens themselves will prevent any misconception which might arise from the mere perusal of enthusiastic descriptions. The account of many later masters and their followers will be found to be more complete than in the first edition; and the general historical and critical analysis is thus more duly balanced. The same observation is, indeed, applicable to the first section of the history—that which treats of the earliest period of Christian art, comprehending the description of mosaics and illuminated manuscripts. This

<sup>1</sup> The consequence of this has been, that many a choice example of early art, supposed to be lost, has found its way to English collections, where it will perhaps be safer than in its original situation. To trace the interesting works of this kind which have at various times, and especially of late years, migrated to this country, will come within the province of writers like Dr. Waagen, who has for many years been engaged in gathering notices, from his own observation, of our treasures in art.\* The galleries of Mr. Bromley, Mr. Barker, and others, will thus be more generally known; not a few of the specimens so selected are masterworks of the early Italian painters: such, for example, is the picture of the Adoration of the Kings, by Benozzo Gozzoli, in the possession of Mr. Barker.

\* See 'Treasures of Art in Great Britain,' by Dr. Waagen. London, 1854.



period embraces many centuries, and it consequently deserved a less brief notice than was allotted to it in the former volume. Most lovers of art have felt the want of a critical inquiry into the nature of the works belonging to that darker period, and it is now felt that a history of Italian painting would be incomplete without some account of the subjects, styles, and technical methods of the productions even of the remoter ages. In those ages are to be found the links connecting Pagan and Christian art, and an acquaintance with the externally dependent state of the latter in its earliest efforts enables us better to appreciate the freshness of its new life from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

But though more complete in general plan, it is not pretended that this Handbook aims at more than a general survey of the subject of which it treats. That subject has been much elucidated of late years, and continues to be so: hence, in such a work as the present, there must always be room for emendations and additions. Again, the frequent transfer of pictures from one gallery or from one collector to another, renders it scarcely possible to be entirely accurate in designating the places where certain works of art are to be found: several such transfers have taken place while this work was in the press.

An important addition and embellishment characterizing the English edition, consists in the woodcut illustrations. The series of Raphael's Madonnas and Holy Families, in particular, though here necessarily on a minute scale and presenting little more than the composition, cannot fail to be interesting, and may at least invite attention to larger transcripts of those works where the originals are not accessible. Such creations may be supposed to come more directly from the heart, and the gradual development of feeling and taste which they exemplify can in no other instance be so completely traced; for it must be borne in mind that Raphael's subjects of this kind are no less distinguished in number than in perfection from those of all other painters.

The drawings for the woodcuts throughout were executed by Mr. George Scharf, jun.; and the Editor takes this opportunity of expressing his acknowledgments to that gentleman, for the very satisfactory manner in which he has fulfilled the task undertaken by him. The introductory observations which follow are reprinted, with a few alterations, from the Preface to the former English editions.

In tracing the history of painting and the different character of its schools, we find that an equal measure of the world's approba-

tion has been sometimes awarded to productions apparently opposite in their style and aim. This is not to be explained by the variety of tastes in connoisseurs ; for the claims in question are universally admitted, notwithstanding individual predilections. The admission supposes the existence of some less mutable criterion ; and it is therefore important to inquire what are the grounds on which this approbation can be said to be consistent.

Considered generally, the Arts are assumed to have a common character and end : but the vagueness of this principle offers no solution for the question proposed. The opposite process—the discrimination of the different means by which a common end is arrived at—will be found to lead to more definite and more useful results. In all the Fine Arts some external attraction, some element of beauty, is the vehicle of mental pleasure or moral interest ; but in considering the special form, or means, of any one of the Arts, as distinguished from the rest, the excellence of each is not found to be in proportion to the qualities which it can express in common with its rivals, but to those qualities which are unattainable by them.

We thus comprehend why various schools have attained great celebrity in spite of certain defects. It is because their defects are generally such as other human attainments, other modes of expression, could easily supply : their excellences, on the contrary, are their own, and are unapproachable except by means of the art in which they are displayed. Such excellences constitute what may be called **SPECIFIC STYLE**.

Accordingly, it may always be concluded that pictures of acknowledged excellence, of whatever school, owe their reputation to the emphatic display of some qualities that are proper to the art. In histories of painting these merits are often attempted to be conveyed in words, and the mode in which language endeavours to give an equivalent for the impressions produced by a picture is at once an illustration of the above principles. The description of the progress of time, of motion, the imagined interchange of speech, the comparison with things not present—all impossible in the silent, quiescent, and immutable Art—are resorted to without scruple in describing pictures, yet the description does not therefore strike us as untrue. It will immediately be seen that the same liberty is allowable and necessary when representation enters into rivalry with description. The eye has its own poetry ; and as the mute language of nature in its *simultaneous* effect (the indispensable condition of harmony) produces impressions which words restricted to mere *succession* can but imperfectly embody, so the finest qualities of the formative arts are those which language cannot adequately

convey.<sup>1</sup> On the same grounds it must be apparent that a servile attention to the letter of description (as opposed to its translatable spirit), accuracy of historic details, exactness of costume, &c., are not essential in themselves, but are valuable only in proportion as they assist the demands of the art, or produce an effect on the imagination. This may sufficiently explain why an inattention to these points, on the part of great painters (and poets, as compared with mere historians), has interfered so little with their reputation. In this instance the powers of Painting are opposed to those of language generally; on the same principle, they would be distinguished in many respects from those of Poetry; in like manner, if we suppose a comparison with Sculpture, or with any imitative art, the strength of Painting will still consist in the distinctive attributes which are thus forced into notice. Of those attributes, some may be more prominent in one school, some in another; but they are all valued because they are characteristic—because the results are unattainable in the same perfection by any other means.

The principle here dwelt on with regard to Painting is equally applicable to all the Fine Arts: each art, as such, is raised by raising its characteristic qualities; each lays a stress on those means of expression in which its rivals are deficient, in order to compensate those in which its rivals surpass it. The principle extends even to the rivalry of the formative Arts generally with Nature. The absence of sound, and of progressive action, is supplied by a more significant, mute, and momentary *appearance*. The arrangement which, apparently artless, fixes the attention on important points, the emphasis on essential as opposed to adventitious qualities, the power of selecting expressive forms, of arresting evanescent beauties, are all prerogatives by means of which a feeble imitation successfully contends even with its archetype. As this selection and adaptation are the qualities in which imitation, as opposed to nature, is strong, so the approach to literal rivalry is, as usual, in danger of betraying comparative weakness. Could the imitation of living objects, for example, in Painting or in Sculpture, be carried to absolute deception as regards their mere surface, we should only be reminded that life and motion were wanting. On the other hand, relative completeness, or that consistency of convention which suggests no want—the test of style—is attainable in the minute as well as in the large view of nature, and may be found in some of the Dutch as well as in the Italian masters. Even the elements of beauty, incompatible as they might seem to

<sup>1</sup> See Lessing's 'Laokoon.' Compare Harris, 'Three Treatises,' London, 1744.

be with the subjects commonly treated by the former, are very apparent in their style of colouring and in other qualities.

The rivalry of the Arts with Nature thus suggests the definition of their *general style*. The rivalry of Art with Art points out the *specific style* of each mode of imitation. Both relate to the *means*. The *end* of the Arts is defined not only by their general nature, but by the consideration *to whom they are addressed*. The necessity of appealing, directly or indirectly, to human sympathies, as distinguished from those associations and impressions which are the result of partial or peculiar study, tends to correct an exaggerated and exclusive attention to specific style, inasmuch as the end in question is more or less common to all the Fine Arts. The Genius of Painting might award the palm to Titian, but human beings would be more interested with the productions of Raphael. The claims of the different schools are thus ultimately balanced by the degrees in which they satisfy the mind ; but as the enlightened observer is apt to form his conclusions by this latter standard alone, it has been the object of these remarks to invite his attention more especially to the excellence of the Art itself, on which the celebrity of every school more or less depends, and which, whatever be its themes, recommends itself by the evidence of mental labour, and in the end increases the sum of mental pleasure.

Next to the nature of the art itself, the influence of religion, of social and political relations, and of letters, the modifying circumstances of climate and of place, the character of a nation, a school, and an individual, and even the particular object of a particular painter, are to be taken into account, and open fresh sources of interest. With the cultivated observer, indeed, these associations are again in danger at first of superseding the consideration of the art as such ; but by whatever means attention is invited, the judgment is gradually exercised, and the eye unconsciously educated.

In avoiding too precise a definition of the end of Art, it may nevertheless be well to remember, that so great a difference in the highest moral interests as that which existed between the Pagan and Christian world must of necessity involve important modifications, even in the physical elements of imitation. However imposing were the ideas of beauty and of power which the Pagan arrived at, by looking around but not above him, by deriving his religion as well as his taste from the perfect attributes of life throughout nature, the Christian definition of the human being, at least, must be admitted to rest on more just and comprehensive relations. It is true the general character of the art itself is unchangeable, and that character was never more accurately defined

than in the sculpture of the ancient Greeks ; but new human feelings demanded corresponding means of expression, and it was chiefly reserved for Painting to embody them. That art, as treated by the great modern masters, had not, like Sculpture, a complete model in classic examples, and was thus essentially a modern creation. The qualities in which it is distinguished from the remaining specimens of classic Painting are, in fact, nearly identified with those which constitute its specific style. Hence, when carried to a perfection probably unknown to the ancients, and purified by a spiritual aim, the result sometimes became the worthy auxiliary of a religion that hallows, but by no means interdicts, the admiration of nature.

The consideration of the influence of Religion on the Arts forces itself on the attention in investigating the progress of Painting, since so large a proportion of its creations was devoted to the service of the Church—in many instances, we fear we must add, the service of superstition. Yet the difference or abuse of creeds may be said in most cases to affect works of art only in their extrinsic conditions: the great painters were so generally penetrated with the spirit of the faith they illustrated, that the most unworthy subjects were often the vehicles of feelings to which all classes of Christians are more or less alive. The implicit recognition of apocryphal authorities is, however, not to be dissembled. Indeed some acquaintance with the legends and superstitions of the middle ages is as necessary to the intelligence of the contemporary works of art, as the knowledge of the heathen mythology is to explain the subjects of Greek vases and marbles. Certain themes belong more especially to particular times and places; such are the incidents from the lives of the Saints, the predilection for which varied with the devotional spirit of the age and the habits of different countries and districts, to say nothing of successive canonisations.<sup>1</sup> Even Scripture subjects had their epochs: at first the dread of idolatry had the effect of introducing and consecrating a system of merely typical representation, and hence the characters and events of the Old Testament were long preferred to those of the New. The cycle from the latter, though augmented, like the Bible series generally, from apocryphal sources, was from first to last comparatively restricted, many subjects remaining untouched even in the best ages of Art. This is again to be explained by remembering, that while the scenes and personages of the Old Testament were understood to

<sup>1</sup> In altarpieces, it was common to represent Saints who lived in different ages, assembled round the enthroned Virgin and Child. This is not to be considered an anachronism, since it rather represented a heavenly than an earthly assembly. Many pictures of the kind in churches were the property or gift of private individuals, and in this case the selection of the Saints

be figurative, those of the New were regarded as objects of direct edification, or even of homage, and hence were selected with caution.<sup>1</sup> In general, the incidents that exemplified the leading dogmas of faith were chosen in preference to others, and thus the Arts became the index of the tenets that were prominent at different periods.

The selection, or at least the treatment, of subjects from the Gospels, may have been regulated in some instances also by their assumed correspondence with certain prophecies; indeed, the circumstances alluded to in the predictions of the Old Testament are not unfrequently blended in pictures with the facts of the New. The subjects called the Deposition from the Cross, and the Pietà (the dead Christ mourned by the Marys and Disciples, or by the Madonna alone), may be thus explained.<sup>2</sup> Hence, too, the never-failing accompaniments of the Nativity;<sup>3</sup> hence the "Wise Men" are represented as kings,<sup>4</sup> and the Flight into Egypt is attended with the destruction of the idols.<sup>5</sup> Subjects of this class were sometimes combined in regular cycles, which, in the form they assumed after the revival of Art, probably had their origin in the selection of meditations for the Rosary (instituted in the thirteenth century): among these were the "Joys"<sup>6</sup> and "Sorrows"<sup>7</sup> of the Virgin, and the principal events of the Passion.<sup>8</sup> Other themes

<sup>1</sup> "Picturæ ecclesiarum sunt quasi libri laicorum," is the observation of a writer of the twelfth century.—*Comestor, Historia Scholastica*. (Hist. Evang. c. 5.)

<sup>2</sup> Zechariah, xii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah, i. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Psalm lxxii. 10, 11. Certain accessories in pictures of this subject are derived from Isaiah, lx. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Isaiah, xiv. 1. (See Comestor, Hist. Evang. c. 10.) The incident may have been directly borrowed from an apocryphal source, the 'Evangelium Infantie.' Circumstances adopted from similar authorities were sometimes interwoven with the subjects of the New Testament.

<sup>6</sup> 1. The Annunciation. 2. The Visitation. 3. The Nativity. 4. The Adoration of the Kings. 5. The Presentation in the Temple. 6. Christ found by his Mother in the Temple. 7. The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin.

<sup>7</sup> 1. The Prophecy of Simeon. (Luke, ii. 35.) 2. The Flight into Egypt. 3. Christ, while disputing with the Doctors in the Temple, missed by his Mother. 4. Christ betrayed. 5. The Crucifixion (the Virgin and St. John only present). 6. The Deposition from the Cross. 7. The Ascension (the Virgin left on earth).

<sup>8</sup> The 'Seven Hours of the Passion' were:—1. The Last Supper. 2. The Agony in the Garden. 3. Christ before Caiaphas. 4. Christ before Herod. 5. Christ crowned with Thorns. 6. Pilate washing his Hands. 7. The Crucifixion (the centurion and others present). The more complete series contained, in addition to these and other subjects:—The Flagellation. The Ecce Homo. The Procession to Calvary, or Christ bearing his Cross. The Entombment. The Descent to the Limbus. The Resurrection. The Life of Christ contained, in addition to many of the above, the Baptism and Transfiguration. The Life of the Virgin, though interwoven with that of Christ, formed, for the most part, a distinct series. The subjects of all these cycles

common at the same time had their appropriate application: the History of St. John the Baptist was the constant subject in Baptist-eries; the chapels especially dedicated to the Virgin were adorned with scenes from her life;<sup>1</sup> the hosts of heaven, "Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,"<sup>2</sup> were sometimes introduced in cupolas; but the more customary subjects were the Ascension of Christ and the Assumption of the Virgin.<sup>3</sup> The subjects of the Old Testament were universally considered as types: their assumed ulterior meaning is frequently explained in glosses of MS. Bibles, and in the 'Compendiums of Theology' which were in the hands of all ecclesiastics. These commentaries contained much that may be traced to the early Fathers; but during and after the revival of Art they were more immediately derived from the scholastic theologians,<sup>4</sup> whose writings appear to have had considerable influence on the sacred Painting of Italy and Europe.

varied in number, perhaps accordingly as they were separately or collectedly adapted to the divisions of the Rosary and Corona. The 'Speculum Salvationis' (Augsburg edition) assigns seven to each of the first three series in the above order. The more ordinary division was five for each.

<sup>1</sup> See the 'Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae,' and the 'Proterangelium Jacobi.' The subjects from the history of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin, painted by Taddeo Gaddi, Domenico Ghirlandajo, Gaudenzio Ferrari, and others, are chiefly in the latter.

<sup>2</sup> The orders of angels, as represented by the Italian painters, appear to have been derived from a treatise 'De Hierarchia celesti' (c. 7-11), which bears the name of Dionysius Areopagita, and may be traced to Jewish sources. St. Thomas Aquinas (after Dionysius) gives the nine orders of angels as follows: "Seraphim, Cherubim, Throni, Dominations, Virtutes, Potestates, Principatus, Archangeli, Angeli." Vasari ventured to cover a ceiling in Florence with "Illustrations" of a still profounder lore—the Cabala. See his 'Ragionamenti' (Glor. 1.). Compare Brucker, *Hist. Philosophie*.

<sup>3</sup> This last subject frequently adorned the high altar. The subject of the Death of the Virgin, which occurs in MSS. of the middle ages, as well as in pictures of later date, was gradually superseded by it. For the legend, see the 'Flos Sanctorum' Aug. 25. and the 'Aurea Legenda': both give the early authorities.

<sup>4</sup> The most renowned of these doctors were of the Dominican order (de' Predicatori: the same fraternity afterwards boasted some distinguished painters—Angelico da Fiesole, Fra Bartolommeo, &c.), and on many accounts may be considered the chief medium of communication between the Church and its handmaid, Art. Among the earlier commentaries on Scripture evidently consulted by the painters, was the *Historia Scholastica* of Comestor, already referred to.

In the Editor's Preface to the second edition of this Handbook (and more especially in the reprint of that Preface in his 'Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts'), some works were enumerated which treat, more or less fully, of the Iconography and Legends of the Saints. But all such works may, in relation to these subjects, be now considered superseded by Mrs. Jameson's 'Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art.' The first two volumes contain the legends of the Saints, Martyrs, &c.; the third (a separate work), the legends of the Monastic Orders; the remaining portion of the work treats of the history and legends of the Madonna.

## GENERAL LITERARY MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF ITALIAN PAINTING.

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### I. PRINCIPAL HISTORICAL WORKS.

Earliest Memoirs relating to the History of Art, by LORENZO Ghiberti (the Florentine sculptor, who died 1455): *Commentario sulle Arti*.

Extracts from the MS. are printed in Cicognara: *Storia della Scultura*, ii. 99.

GIORGIO VASARI: *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*.

Second edition, corrected and enlarged by the author: Florence, 1568.—Later reprints: Bologna, 1647-48, 1663, and Florence, 1823.—The edition of Rome, 1758 (colle note e illustrazioni di Gio. Bottari), printed also at Leghorn and Florence, 1767-72, contains important notes and corrections.—That of Siena, 1791-94 (pubbl. per opera del P. Guglielmo della Valle), is less useful.—Reprint of the last: Milano, 1807 (dalla Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani).—German edition: *Leben der ausgezeichnetsten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister, etc. beschrieben von Giorgio Vasari. Aus dem Italienischen. Mit den wichtigsten Anmerkungen der früheren Herausgeber, so wie mit neueren Berichtigungen und Nachweisungen begleitet und herausgegeben von Ludwig Schorn*. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1832. (This excellent edition is as yet unfinished.)

RAFFAELLO BORGHINI: *Il Riposo*, in cui della pittura e della scultura si favella, de' più illustri pittori e scultori, ecc. Fiorenza, 1584.

D. JACOPO MORELLI: *Notizia d'opere di disegno nella prima metà del secolo XVI.* ; scritta da un anonimo di quel tempo. Bassano, 1800.

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*The principal biographies of particular artists, and accounts of their works, are mentioned in the text.*

*Among the numerous works in which the general history of Italian Art is investigated, the following may be quoted:—*

D'ARGENVILLE: *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*. Paris, 1742-45.

Later editions: Paris, 1762; and Paris, 1787.

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AB. LUIGI LANZI: *La storia pittorica dell' Italia inferiore*. Firenze, 1792.—*Storia pitt. dell' Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso a fine del XVIII. secolo*. Bassano, 1795.

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J. D. FIORILLO : Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste von ihrer Wiederauflebung bis auf die neuesten Zeiten. Vols. i. and ii. (containing the history of Italian painting). Göttingen, 1798-1801.

COMTE GREGOIRE ORLOFF : Essai sur l'histoire de la peinture en Italie. Paris, 1823, etc.

Collections of letters by Bottari, Gualandi, and others. Valuable collection of Documents : Carteggio inedito d' artisti dei secoli XIV. XV. XVI., pubblicato ed illustrato con documenti pure inediti dal Dott. Giovanni Gaye, con facsimile. Firenze, 1839-41, 3 vols. in 8vo.

*Modern works elucidating the early history and progress of  
Italian Art.*

S. D'AGINCOURT : Histoire de l'art par les monumens depuis sa décadence au IV<sup>e</sup>. siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVI<sup>e</sup>. Paris, 1811-23 ; 6 vols. in fol., ornés de 325 pl.

C. F. VON RUMOHR : Italienische Forschungen. Berlin und Stettin, 1827-31.

On the Art in the earlier middle ages, on the schools of Tuscany and Umbria from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and on Raphael. A very important work on many accounts, especially as regards the investigation and communication of original documentary evidence.

E. FÖRSTER : Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgeschichte. Leipzig, 1835.

On the Tuscan schools of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Equally interesting with the last-mentioned.

*The Travels in Italy, in relation to Art, and the descriptions of works of Art there, are endless. Among the best and most useful may be mentioned :—*

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F. F. HOFSTÄTTER : Nachrichten von Kunstsachen in Italien. Wien, 1792.

Two parts : Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna.

- B. SPETH : Die Kunst in Italien. München, 1819-23.  
 FR. H. VON DER HAGEN : Briefe in die Heimat. Breslau, 1818-21.  
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 der Stadt Rom. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1830, etc.  
 PLATNER'S extracts from these works : Beschreibung Roms.  
 Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1845 ; 1 bd. in 8.

*Of works relating to examples of Italian Art in other countries the  
 following may be added :—*

- J. D. PASSAVANT : Kunstreise durch England und Belgien. Frank-  
 furt a. M., 1833.  
 An important and useful work. [Translated into English.]  
 A. HIRT : Kunstbemerkungen auf einer Reise über Wittenberg und  
 Meissen nach Dresden und Prag. Berlin, 1830, etc.

*The most important of the Dictionaries of Painters are—*

- FÜSSL : Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon. Zürich, 1779, with the  
 Supplements of 1806-1824.  
 DR. G. K. NAGLER : Neues allgemeines Künstlerlexicon. München,  
 1835.

## II. BOOKS OF ENGRAVINGS.

Musée de peinture et de sculpture, ou recueil des principaux  
 tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs des collections publiques et parti-  
 culières de l'Europe. Dess. et grav. par Réveil, avec des notices,  
 etc. par Duchesne aîné. Paris, 1829-1834.

Good outlines in a small 8vo. size. A very copious collection, but unfor-  
 tunately not selected with sufficient regard to the object of the work.  
 Of the earlier masters before Raphael a very few examples are given :  
 the school of Leonardo da Vinci is omitted altogether.

Choix de tableaux et statues des plus célèbres musées et cabinets  
 étrangers. Par une société d'artistes et d'amateurs. Paris, 1819.

Outlines in small 8vo. A good selection, but it appears incomplete.

SEROUX D'AGINCOURT : Histoire de l'art par les monumens. (See  
 above.)

Outlines (sometimes small and numerous) in folio, illustrating the earlier  
 epochs of Art up to the time of Raphael.

**Schola italica picturæ, sive selectæ quædam summorum e schola italica pictorum tabulæ ære incisæ, cura et impensis Gavini Hamilton. Roma, 1771.**

A splendid work in folio, containing forty admirably executed engravings after the best masters.

**Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux, et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le cabinet du Roy, dans celui de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans et dans d'autres cabinets. (Crozat.)**

A splendid work in two folio vols., 1729 and 1742. A considerable number of the pictures engraved in it are in England.

**The British Gallery of Pictures, by H. Tresham, etc. London, 1818.**

A selection of works in England, arranged chronologically.

**The Italian school of design : being a series of fac-similes of original drawings by the most eminent painters and sculptors of Italy, etc. By William Young Ottley. London, 1823.**

Large fol. Very important for Raphael.

**Vies et œuvres des peintres les plus célèbres de toutes les écoles. Recueil classique, par C. P. Landon.**

Outlines in small fol. This collection is referred to throughout in the text, in describing the works of painters contained in it.

**Etruria pittrice. (See above.)**

This contains an engraved specimen of each master of the Tuscan school, from one of his master-works, etc.

**G. ROSINI : Storia della pittura Italiana, 1840.**

Four volumes with numerous small illustrations, and a large atlas of outline drawings.

#### *Works on Galleries.*

**Musée Français.**

A splendid work in fol., containing a selection from the works which were collected in the Louvre during the Empire.

**Annales du Musée, ou Recueil complet de gravures d'après les tableaux, etc., du Musée royal de France, aux différentes époques de son établissement et dans son état actuel, etc., par C. P. Landon. Seconde édition. (Ecoles Italiennes.) Paris, 1829.**

Outlines. The second edition is more useful than the first on account of its judicious arrangement.

Pinacoteca del palazzo reale delle scienze e delle arti di Milano, pubbl. da Michele Bisi, ec. Milano, 1812-33.

Outlines in 4to. The gallery at Milan was the central museum of Italy during the domination of the French.

Tableaux, statues, etc. de la Galerie de Florence et du Palais Pitti, dess. par Vicar, etc. 2 vol. Paris, 1789-92.

A splendid work in large folio.

L'Imp. e Reale Galleria Pitti incisa ad un contorno condotto d'illustrazioni fornita e pubblicata da Luigi Bardi. Firenze (since 1836), small folio.

Reale Galleria di Firenze, illustrata. Firenze, 1817, etc.

Outlines from the pictures in the Gallery of the Uffizj.

La Pinacoteca della ponteficia Accademia delle belle arti in Bologna; pubbl. di Francesco Rosaspina. Bologna, 1833.

Finished engravings in small fol.

Real Museo Borbonico. Napoli, 1824, etc.

Gallery of Naples; but chiefly containing antique works of Art. Outlines in 4to.

Pinacoteca della etc. Accademia Veneta etc. da F. Zanotto. Venezia (since 1831).

Fiore della ducale Galleria Parmense. Parma, 1824.

Outlines in fol. Incomplete.

Gemälde gallerie des k. museums in Berlin, etc. Berlin, 1841.

Galerie de l'Ermitage, etc. par Labensky. Petersburg (since 1805).

La Reale Galleria di Torino, illustrata da Roberto d'Azeglio, etc. Torino (since 1836), large fol.

Kaiserl., königl. Bilder-Gallerie im Belvedere zu Wien. Nach den Zeichnungen von Perger gest. von verschiedenen Künstlern. Wien, 1821-28.

Small finished engravings.

The National Gallery of pictures by the great masters. London.

Finished engravings in large 4to. Begun in 1833.

Valpy's Nat. Gall. of Painting and Sculpture. 8vo., with slight sketches, etc.

Engravings of the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford's Collection of Pictures in London. By W. Y. Ottley, etc. London, 1818, fol.

With small engravings.

*Other collections of Engravings, especially those which relate to the productions of individual artists, are referred to in the text as occur-*

sion requires. A reference in every case to particular engravings from the pictures described was impossible, as the notes would thus have occupied too much space. The various catalogues that have been published may in some degree supply this information. The principal are the following:—

HANS RUDOLPH FÜSSLI: *Kritisches Verzeichniss der besten, nach den berühmtesten Malern aller Schulen vorhandenen Kupferstiche.* Zürich, Band 1-3 (containing the Italian schools): 1798-1802.

Catalogue raisonné du Cabinet d'Estampes du feu Mr. WINCKLER.  
Par MICH. HUBER. Leipzig. Tome second. (Ecole Italienne.)

For all other purposes of reference respecting the collective bibliography of art, the reader will find the greatest assistance in Rudolf Weigel's "*Kunstcatalog*," which has appeared in separate portions in Leipsic since the year 1833.

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# HANDBOOK

OF

## PAINTING IN ITALY.

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### BOOK I.

#### EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

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#### PART I.

##### THE LATER ROMAN STYLE.

GREEK art sprang from Greek religion. It was art which gave the Gods form, character, and reality. The statue of Jupiter Olympius brought the Father of the Gods himself before the eyes of men. He was deemed unfortunate who died, without beholding that statue. Art, among the Greeks, was an occupation of a priestly character: as it belonged to her to lift the veil of mystery which concealed the Gods, so was it also her office to exalt and consecrate the human forms under which they could alone be represented. The image of the God was no mere copy from common and variable life; it was stamped with a supernatural grandeur which raised the mind to a higher world.

In subjugating the territories of Greece to their dominion, the Romans had also reduced Grecian civilization and Grecian art to their service. Wherever their legions extended, these followed in their train. Wherever their splendid and colossal works, whether for public or private purposes, were carried on, Greek art, or such art as owed its invention originally to the Greeks, was called into requisition. Every object of daily



use bore its own particular impress of art. That which had been the natural product of the Grecian national mind, now, detached from its original home and purposes, assumed a more general character. The Grecian ideal of beauty became the ideal of all beauty. The types of Grecian art furnished the materials for a universal alphabet of art. And although that charm of purity which is shed over the creations of the highest period of Greek art necessarily departed from her when she was led forth a wanderer among nations, yet the more general principles of form and proportion had been too firmly laid down to be easily alienated. Wherever she was seen, whether in the most barbaric luxury or in the vilest corruption of Roman life, some portion of that religious feeling which had given her birth was found cleaving to her outward forms; and wherever these appeared, a world, peopled with beings, divine and heroic, met the eyes of the beholder. True to her calling, Art remained the most powerful prop of the old faith.

The light of Christianity now broke upon the world, proclaiming the truth of the one God, and of his Son, our Saviour, and exposing the lie of Heathenism. A way had to be prepared for the spiritual renewal of mankind. Christianity addressed herself to the inner man alone. Unlike the religions of Heathendom, she needed no direct alliance with art. From art, such as it then was, associated and bound up with the very spirit of Heathenism, Christianity could only shrink with horror; and as it was well known what important service, nay, what essential support Paganism had derived from it, so, in the struggle of the early Christians against the old idolatry, the art which had sustained it became equally the object of their aversion. The carvers of graven images were looked upon as the servants and emissaries of Satan. Whoever carried on this hateful calling was declared unworthy of the cleansing waters of baptism; whoever, when baptized, returned to his old vocation, was expelled from the community.


This hostility to art in its visible attributes was extended even to the whole department of inward artistic feeling. The influence of the Gods had been maintained by the grandeur and grace in which the artist had clothed their

external forms. Christianity needed no such auxiliary. Her operations were to be solely of a spiritual kind; and she repudiated every outward aid which, by alluring the senses, was calculated to sully the purity of her office. It was natural also that the persecuted Christian Church should, for the first century, look upon Christ as the divine type of all sorrow and suffering. The Saviour was therefore to be represented as insignificant, and devoid of all beauty; not like the Gods of the Pantheon, catching the eye by outward attractions, but conquering the heart by the power of his word. As such, also, he had been announced by the Prophet. "He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him." "His visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men." (Isa. liii, 2; lii, 14.) This, indeed, appears to have been the prevalent feeling with the early Christian Church, especially so long as a due balance of numbers existed between the Jewish and the Gentile converts. Such being the accepted type of the Saviour's form, it could never be desirable to place it in competition with the representations of the Pagan Gods.

But herein, it must be remembered, violence was done to that instinct of beauty which the Creator has implanted in us. This repudiation of art was not owing to any want of artistic ability, but solely to a combination of outward circumstances. As soon as these circumstances changed, the whole position of Christianity towards art necessarily changed also. As the new Church gradually became the ruling religion, art was as gradually released from the service of Heathenism, and such types and modes of representation as peculiarly distinguished the Christian faith were committed to its charge.

But before this happier period had arrived, even in the times of oppression and neglect, the natural instinct had not been totally extinguished. The life and manners of Paganism had been too closely interwoven with artistic forms for the followers of the new faith entirely to disengage themselves from them. Almost every utensil of common life had its established form and its figurative ornament, bearing not only the charm of grace, but the impress of an allegorical meaning.

Imperative, therefore, as it was to the early Christian to banish from his new life every object of his former idol worship, however exquisite in construction, it was not so absolutely necessary to renounce those which were innocent in purpose. But even in these instances all the allegorical designs with which they were enriched had been borrowed from the pagan mythology. The eagle and the thunderbolt were the symbols of Power, because the attributes of the highest among the Gods. The rod with the two serpents indicated commerce, because Mercury was the God of traffic. The club, the emblem of strength, was originally the attribute of Hercules. The griffin, which appears so often in the decoration of antique objects, was sacred to Apollo. The symbol of the sphinx was taken from the fable of Œdipus. Thus allegorical representations could not be retained in the dwellings of Christians without reminding them of a mythology which they abhorred. It was possible, however, to substitute others which stood not only in no connexion with the ancient idolatry, but, on the contrary, bespoke the owner's acquiescence in the new doctrine. The Oriental mode of teaching by means of parables, with which the Bible abounds, supplied an abundance of subjects. Symbolical forms were taken directly from Scriptural illustrations: others were conceived in a similar spirit—here and there some which bore no direct allusion to the old mythology, or admitted of a Christian transposition, were retained in the antique form. Thus a numerous class of Christian symbols sprung up, which gave at once a higher character to those objects of common life to which they were applied, and became also a sign of recognition among the members of the new faith. They are the first attempts at an independent artistic development of a Christian character, the creations of a free popular conformity, not the hieroglyphics of a passive obedience.

Foremost among these symbols appear two graphic signs, which, as such, hardly come under the denomination of artistic forms, viz.: the cross, and the monogram of Christ. The cross had early been recognised as the symbol of redemption. The monogram was composed of the two first Greek letters of the name of Christ, X and P, generally in this form: ;

the X itself denoting the sign of the cross, while, further to simplify the form, the monogram was occasionally represented thus :  $\mathfrak{P}$ . In other instances it appears in these shapes :  $\mathfrak{Z}$  and  $\mathfrak{X}$  ; and not seldom it is accompanied by the mystical apocalyptic letters  $\mathfrak{A}$  and  $\mathfrak{\Omega}$ , thus :  $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{\Omega}$ .

Among the more properly artistic symbols the following may be selected as the principal :—

The Lamb—or the emblem of Christ himself, as the sacrifice so named in many parts of the New Testament. This symbol is also employed to denote His disciples, of whom He speaks as the flock of which He is the Shepherd. The Vine—in accordance with the Saviour's own words, who calls Himself the Vine, and His disciples the branches. The Fish—the general symbol of the disciples, and also equally of Himself—derived perhaps immediately from the lingering spirit of antique symbolism, in which the fish denotes the element of water, here understood as the baptismal water of life ; also in more direct allusion to the words of Christ, who appointed His disciples to be “fishers of men.” The greatest importance, however, attached to this symbol consisted in a fanciful play of letters, the separate letters of the Greek word  $\text{ΙΧΘΥΣ}$  (Fish) being found to contain the initials of Christ, and of those words which betokened his Divine mission,  $\text{Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ}$  (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour). The Ship, indicating the Church, as typified by Noah's ark. The Anchor—always in close connexion with the foregoing ; often entwined with a fish, a dolphin, or accompanied by two fishes—the emblem of fortitude, faith, and hope. The Dove, occasionally bearing the olive branch, the symbol of Christian meekness and charity, also of the Holy Ghost. The Phoenix and the Peacock, symbols of eternity. The Cock, of watchfulness. The Lyre, of the worship of God. The Palm-branch, the heathen symbol of victory, but, in a Christian sense, that only of the victory over death. The Sheaf, the Bunch of Grapes, &c. &c., with other Biblical signs and allusions, such as the Hart at the Brook, the Brazen Serpent, the Ark of the Covenant, the Seven-branched Candlestick, the Serpent in the Garden of Eden, and, lastly, the Cross, in various combinations with other symbolical signs—with flowers—with a crown on the summit of a hill—with the Dove hovering about it, or

entwined in a garland. (A rich collection of these symbols will be found in the spandrels of the arches in S. Apollinare *in Classe* near Ravenna.)

But the habits of the ancients required a more considerable artistic element than such crude symbols as these could supply. Not all the followers of Christianity were either so low in station, or so inflexible in zeal, as to be indifferent or averse to art itself. Not all the years of the infant church were marked by such trouble and persecution as to fix the minds of its members only on the glories of martyrdom. Moreover, with the conversion to Christianity no Christian was absolutely bound to renounce all the requisites and accompaniments of civilized life. The way, therefore, being once cleared for gratifying the instincts of such art as was free from pagan contamination, though at first only through the simple channel of decorative symbols, it remained open for the gradual admission of higher and more comprehensive modes of artistic expression.

The violent aversion entertained by the Christians for the Iconology of Heathendom kept, as was natural, equal pace with the violence of the struggle between the old and the new faith. In times of calmer reflection it was easy to perceive that the question, as respected art, admitted of another view. Meanwhile, that extreme generalization which the forms of Greek art had undergone beneath the Roman dominion had, in truth, greatly enfeebled their spiritual character. Instead of directly denoting the object represented they had become the mere exponents of an abstract idea - in other words, symbols of a more comprehensive character. Instead of influencing the feelings, they now engaged the thoughts. The more the fanciful belief in the ancient mythology declined, the more this purely symbolical application of the old artistic forms gained ground. The latest efforts of ancient art with which we are acquainted, especially those seen in the reliefs upon the sarcophagi of the latter part of the second century after Christ, are distinct proofs of this. The fables of Meleager, of Niobe, of Cupid and Psyche, &c., are no longer employed here to embody to the spectator the poetic existence and history of these individuals, but simply to convey, under these conventional forms, the general ideas of destruction, of

death, and of a future higher state of being. The mythological forms of representation had become an almost universal expedient for the expression of pure thought.

While, therefore, the connexion between art and heathenism began thus to relax, it followed, as a natural consequence, that the Christians also began to relax in the suspicions with which they regarded the former. It became safe for them now to indulge their instincts for art, and to venture beyond the limits of the mere symbol. Led by these means into a definite field of artistic development, the symbolizing system, while it obtained more and more for pagan purposes, was also employed in the same comprehensive manner for those of Christianity. Forbidden, as they were, by the purely spiritual tendency of the age to indulge in any direct visible expression of sacred objects, the early Christians could nevertheless have recourse to those symbolic representations which intimated the tenor of the new doctrines, without wounding the feelings by any attempt to embody sacred things.

Above all, it was requisite that some symbolical expression of this kind should be devised to represent the Saviour and his mission on earth, which should address itself to the eye with a direct artistic effect, in contradistinction not only to those merely formal signs of the Cross and of the Monogram, but also to those somewhat vague emblems of the Lamb, the Vine, and the Fish. The words of Christ himself soon pointed out a proper choice of subject. He had said, "I am the Good Shepherd." He had told His disciples of the shepherd who went into the wilderness to seek the lost sheep, and when he had found it, carried it home rejoicing upon his shoulders. He it was whom the Prophets had announced under this figure. Christ was, therefore, portrayed as the Good Shepherd, and innumerable are the specimens of the early Christian works of art, of every form, including even statues, in which we find him thus represented. Sometimes he appears in the midst of his flock, alone or with companions, caressing a sheep, or with a shepherd's pipe in his hand, sometimes sorrowing for the lost sheep, and again bearing the recovered one upon his shoulders. This last mode of representation is the most frequent, and, even so early as Tertulian's time, was generally adopted for the glass chalices used

in the sacrament and love-feasts. The Saviour is usually represented as an ideal youth, occasionally as a bearded man, in simple succinct drapery; often with the short mantle of the shepherd hanging over the shoulder. A graceful idyllic character pervades their designs, peculiarly fitted to incline the mind to meditation, and supplying at the same time an object of pleasing artistic decoration, in unison with that style of antique ornament which then formed a conspicuous feature in outward life. And if by this means the mind was led, as it doubtless was with some, from the contemplation of the Good Shepherd in the Divine sense, to the mere idea of the pastoral life, an innocent substitute was, at all events, thus supplied for those mythological representations, frequently of a bacchanalian character, which had hitherto prevailed. In a similar way, by the introduction of naked children, or genii, as may be observed upon the earliest sarcophagi and in sepulchral paintings, the emblem of the vine could be made to represent the various scenes of the vintage. The companion also to the Good Shepherd, namely, Christ as the fisherman, often occurs. As umpire also in the popular games (*Agonothetes*) the Saviour is allegorically depicted, but this not often.

A rare and at first sight strange emblem, which can only be interpreted as an allusion to the Saviour, is that of Orpheus captivating the wild beasts of the forest by the sound of his lyre. This adoption of one of the personages of pagan mythology as a fitting object for Christian contemplation may be accounted for equally by the high respect in which the puer Orphean precepts were held by the fathers of the Christian Church, and by the analogy which was supposed to exist between the fable of Orpheus and the history of Christ, especially as seen in the taming influence of Christianity over the hearts of heathens and savages. In such examples, Orpheus is represented in the Phrygian costume, in which later antique art always clothed him, seated with his lyre among trees, and surrounded with animals, in which respect a certain affinity may be traced between this emblem and that of the Good Shepherd. Meanwhile, if, on one hand, so daring a representation of the Saviour soon vanished before the further progress of the Christian Church, it may be observed, on the

other, that many modes of expression of a more innocent nature belonging to ancient art, however closely associated with the ancient idolatry, long maintained their position. The most remarkable of this kind are those personifications of Nature under the human form which the materialism of the ancients had led them to adopt. Even to a late period of the middle ages a river is occasionally represented by a river-god, a mountain by a mountain-god, a city by a goddess with a mural crown, night by a female figure with a torch and a star-bespangled robe, heaven by a male figure throwing a veil in an arched form above his head. Many of these symbols may even be traced down as far as the thirteenth century. Other heathen forms, such, for example, as those of naked boys or genii, which had been employed by later pagan art only for purposes of decoration, continue at least to the fifth century, and even the later fable of Cupid and Psyche occurs upon Christian sarcophagi, being there perhaps understood as the emblem of eternal love.

Meanwhile, however strongly the pious horror of any direct personification of Christ and His history might still be kept up, it was impossible but that the Holy Scriptures, so richly epic as they are in their materials, should not in due time be made to minister to that still widely extended love and practice of the arts which prevailed in the Roman empire. And here those interpretations of Scripture, of which the Apostles themselves had given the example, by which the personages and events of the Old Testament were, for the most part, regarded as prefigurations of those of the New, most opportunely interposed. It thus became possible to delineate the New Testament under the garb of the Old, and to satisfy the desire for historical composition, without offending any scruples of conscience. Accordingly, where we see Abraham in the act of sacrificing Isaac, we are reminded that God "so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son for it;" where we find Moses striking the rock, with kneeling figures drinking the waters, we understand the miraculous birth of Christ, who, according to the Prophet Isaiah, is "the well of salvation," from which "we draw waters with joy," "the spiritual rock from which we drink." Or, if the subject be Job afflicted with



a sore disease, and surrounded with his friends, who show by their actions their horror at his state, we recognise the deep humiliation of the Saviour, who was "despised and rejected of men : a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief : and we hid, as it were, our faces from him." &c. Again, Daniel, in the lions' den, is Christ, who passed through the valley of the shadow of death—His arms, according to early Christian representation, outstretched in prayer, denoting, probably, his position on the Cross. Elijah, also, mounting towards Heaven in a chariot, typifies the Ascension, and so on. We likewise frequently meet with the delineation of Jonah, as he is thrown into the sea, with the whale waiting to swallow him, and then again, as he is cast from the fish's jaws on to land—this being the favourite and most intelligible type of the death and resurrection of Christ. Gradually, the corresponding subject from the New Testament was added to that from the Old—upon sarcophagi, for example—but it was the art of the middle ages which first placed the two side by side.

Soon, however, in the mighty advance of Christianity, the progress from the symbolical to the historical representation of Christ himself, and His life, necessarily ensued. We find the Redeemer (sometimes even in works of art of the time of Constantine the Great) seated in the midst of His disciples, or giving them proofs of His Almighty power in the performance of some miracle—such as healing the blind and lame, feeding the multitude, changing the water into wine, or raising Lazarus from the dead. In the same sense the adoration of the Magi, whose precise number of three is, in such works, first established, and the subject of Christ teaching in the synagogue, are equally to be considered as denoting His Divine power and dignity. Also the entrance into Jerusalem, here to be interpreted as an act of glorification, and a symbol of His second coming, not as the commencement of His sufferings. For it lay in the very nature of an art, still so strongly imbued with the spirit of Paganism, not to represent the passive, but rather the active side of the new object of worship—not to bring forward His earthly sufferings, but rather His Almighty power. To which may be ascribed the fact, that no picture of the Passion or of the Crucifixion occurs of earlier date

than the eighth century. Not less was it in accordance with the spirit of ancient art, owing partly to the deficiency of all certain tradition, partly to its own strong instinct (more certainly to these causes than to any religious reluctance to depict the person of Christ), to create for itself a spontaneous ideal of the Redeemer's person, generally under the form of an almost boyish youth, much in the character of the genii of Paganism, and clothed in a tunic. Occasionally we meet with the First Person of the Trinity similarly represented—for example, upon a sarcophagus in the Vatican; more frequently, however, under the aspect of a bearded old man. It was not till later, though still in the fourth century, that that portrait-like type of the Redeemer's countenance, which was adhered to, with slight deviations, throughout the whole middle ages, first appeared. This we will, therefore, now briefly consider.<sup>1</sup>

The first representations of Christ of which we read were not in the abodes of believers, but in those of heretics and heathens — for example, in the chapel of the Emperor Alexander Severus (about A.D. 230), where a figure of the Saviour, though here rather to be considered as an ideal representation than as a portrait,<sup>2</sup> stood next those of Apollonius of Tyana, of the patriarch Abraham, and of Orpheus. Even Eusebius of Cesarea refuses, on positive religious grounds, to procure for the sister of Constantine the Great a picture of Christ; and no less than a century later S. Augustin declares that as regards the personal appearance of the Saviour nothing was known. But the tradition respecting it, however devoid of all historical worth, was, to a body of men but just removed from the habits of heathenism, necessarily so tempting, and, when the comparative shortness of the interval is considered, so credible also, that, in defiance of all theological scruples, the portraits of Christ became common. The origin of them being alternately ascribed to a

<sup>1</sup> The best authorities on this subject are Gieseler's 'Kirchen-Geschichte,' Munter's 'Schilder und Kunstvorstellungen der Alten Christen,' and Augusti's 'Beiträge zur Christlichen Kunstgeschichte.'

<sup>2</sup> A very ancient, but much restored mosaic, in the *Museo Cristiano* in the Vatican, belonging possibly to the third century, gives us some idea of the style of physiognomy which the heathens attributed to Christ. It is a bearded head in profile, agreeing pretty much with the type of countenance given to the philosophers at that period.

picture by Jesus himself, or by Pontius Pilate, or by S. Luke, or (according to later views) by Nicodemus; or, as founded upon some manifestly counterfeit, but still old, manuscripts; such, for example, as the letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate, which may possibly be assigned to the third century. In this letter by Lentulus, who (though contrary to history) has been called the predecessor to Pontius Pilate in the government of Palestine, Christ is described as "A man of lofty stature, of serious and imposing countenance, inspiring love as well as fear in those who behold him. His hair is the colour of wine (meaning probably of a dark colour), straight and without lustre as low as the ears, but thence glossy and curly, flowing upon the shoulders, and divided down the centre of the head, after the manner of the Nazarenes. The forehead is smooth and serene, the face without blemish, of a pleasant, slightly ruddy colour. The expression noble and engaging. Nose and mouth of perfect form; the beard abundant, and of the same colour as the hair, parted in the middle. The eyes blue and brilliant. He is the most beautiful among the children of men."<sup>1</sup> Of similar character is the description given, about the middle of the eighth century, by John of Damascus, taken, as he avers, from ancient writers. "Jesus," he says, "was of stately height, with eyebrows that met together; beautiful eyes, regular nose, the hair of his head somewhat curling, and of a beautiful colour, with black beard, and corn-yellow complexion like his mother (on which circumstance the greatest stress is laid), with long fingers," &c. Later descriptions are more embellished, and evidently follow, in some particulars, that type of the Saviour's countenance which painters had meanwhile adopted."

The greater number of the sarcophagus reliefs represent Christ, as already stated, under a form of ideal youthfulness—less frequently as a bearded man with a toga, seated enthroned over a symbolical figure of Heaven, with his apostles around him—sometimes also he is seen standing upon a hill, out of

<sup>1</sup> See Didron, '*Histoire de Dieu*,' p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> It was not till the middle ages that the legend of S. Veronica's handkerchief first arose, on which the suffering Redeemer was supposed to have left the impression of his face.

which flow the four rivers of Paradise, or engaged in the performance of one of those acts of Almighty power which we have already alluded to. On the other hand, the first portrait-like representations of Christ occur among the paintings in the catacombs of Rome; and these, considered in conjunction with those of a symbolical character at Naples, most significantly complete the cycle of the earliest Christian forms of representation.

The catacombs<sup>1</sup> of Rome, most of them lying at a short distance from the city gates, were originally, and probably from the time of the Republic, *Puzzolana*-pits. They were also early made use of as places of sepulture for the lowest classes of the people, and for slaves. For these and other reasons being avoided and decried, they were chosen by the persecuted Christians as places of resort and concealment, and more especially also as places of burial for their martyred brethren; Christ having condemned the heathenish custom of burning the dead, which, independent of this, had already much declined since the establishment of the Empire. Several excavations of this kind, which had been abandoned for generations and probably forgotten, were secretly enlarged by the Christians into extensive and intricate labyrinths, composed of narrow intersecting passages, along the sides of which sepulchral recesses were disposed. Many of these passages terminate in small, architecturally shaped, vaulted spaces, where, in periods of persecution, Divine Service, and especially the festivals of the martyrs, were held. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when a new impulse was given to the Catholic Church, these resting-places of the martyrs were again opened and eagerly examined, when the sides and roofs were found to be covered with a great variety of paintings. Since then these have unfortunately been almost obliterated by the admission of the air and by the smoke of torches, while such engravings as were taken from them at the time give us no adequate conception of their style. The grandest and most impressive of these paintings were found in the Catacomb of S. Calixtus, on the *Via Appia*, beneath the

<sup>1</sup> See a graphic description by Kinkel, '*Geschichte der bildenden Künste*,' vol. i. p. 180.

church of S. Sebastian; others of less importance in those of S. Saturnino, S. Priscilla, S. Ponziano, S. Marcellino, S. Lorenzo, &c.

The earliest paintings in the Catacombs, as far as we can judge from the slight remains of them, as well as from the engravings, exhibit much grandeur of arrangement, and, as regards the distribution of the spaces and mode of decoration, approach very near to the wall-paintings of the best period of the Empire. They are also characterized by a peculiar solemnity and dignity of style, though accompanied by certain technical deficiencies. Through the deep spirit of the new religion the genius of ancient manners and of ancient art, though these were inwardly shaken to their foundation, may still be seen to reign triumphant, and in the cheerful symbolical decoration with which it invested the earlier graves of the Christians we recognise the same feeling which had been applied to the later graves of the heathen. The walls of these recesses are ornamented with subjects, the roofs still more richly so. Light arabesques, which, in spite of all rudeness of execution, remind us of the paintings at Pompeii and in the baths of Titus, are distributed in a series of compartments round a centre picture. These represent the whole cycle of Christian symbols, from the merely decoratively employed Dolphin, Lamb, and Dove, as well as the subjects of pastoral life, and the vintage, to the Biblical types of the New Testament, in which the histories of Jonah and Moses, as prefigurations of the resurrection and redemption, occur the most frequently. A smaller circle of compartments, or the centre picture alone, is devoted to the representation of the Saviour himself, who generally appears as the Good Shepherd, or as the worker of miracles, under the form of an ideal youth—in two instances, however, which remain to be mentioned, an actual portrait is evidently intended. In order to give the reader some idea of the disposition and arrangement of the paintings in the Catacombs, we subjoin a short description<sup>1</sup> of one of these portraits of Christ, which occurs in the fourth chamber of the Catacomb of S. Calixtus.

The chamber is square; in each of the walls, excepting that

<sup>1</sup> See Aringhi, lib. iii. c. 22.





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Handwritten text, likely a signature or a note, located below the architectural image. The text is written in a cursive script and is partially obscured by dark, irregular shapes.





containing the entrance, is a recess, terminating in a semi-circular arch.

*First wall, opposite to the entrance.*—In the recess is Orpheus; over the arch, in the centre, the Adoration of the Kings, of which no part is preserved except the Virgin and Child, and an architectural background of Bethlehem. Lower on the left stands a man pointing upwards, without doubt the prophet Micah, in reference to the passage (Micah, v. 2), "But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel," &c. On the right is Moses striking the rock: the whole in allusion to the birth of Christ.

*Second wall, left of the entrance.*—In the recess is the subject of Daniel in the Lions' Den. Over the arch, the centre picture is obliterated. On the left, a man sitting in the attitude in which Job is frequently represented. On the right, Moses unbinding his sandals;<sup>1</sup> the allusion cannot be fully ascertained owing to the loss of the centre, but the whole refers probably to the sufferings and death of Christ.

*Third wall, on the right of the entrance.*—In the recess the Ascension of Elijah; over the arch, in the centre, Noah looking out of the Ark, and the return of the Dove. On the left, one of those frequently occurring figures in attitude of prayer, which are usually considered as the representation of some deceased member, but, more probably, denote the general action of adoration or prayer. On the right, the Raising of Lazarus: the whole referring to the Resurrection of Christ.

On the ceiling, above all these historical and symbolical allusions to the Saviour, in a large medallion, surrounded with

<sup>1</sup> [In illuminated MS. Bibles, and the *Biblia Pauperum*, the subject of Moses and the Burning Bush generally accompanies that of the Nativity (in some instances the Annunciation), and alludes to the mystery of the Incarnation. The inscriptions which sometimes accompany these representations explain the connexion, such as it is, of type and anti-type. Thus, under the subject of the Burning Bush, we read, "Lucet et ignescit, sed non rubus igne calefcit;" under the Nativity, "Absque dolore parit Virgo Maria maris." The subject of Aaron's rod bearing flowers is occasionally added with the line "Hic contra morem producit virgula florem." The subject of the Nativity is surmounted by that of Moses and the Burning Bush in one of the windows in King's College Chapel at Cambridge.—EDITOR.]

a symmetrical ornament of arabesques with doves, is one of the portraits we have alluded to. Over the left shoulder is thrown some drapery, otherwise what is seen of the figure is naked. The face is oval, with a straight nose, arched eyebrows, and a smooth and rather high forehead; the expression serious and mild; the hair parted on the forehead, and flowing in curls on the shoulders; the beard not thick, but short and divided. The appearance that of a man between thirty and forty years of age. No inscription, it is true, nor any other sign is to be found on the picture in evidence of its being the portrait of Christ, but that no other person can be intended by it appears no less from the important position it occupies and the relation in which all the other subjects in the chamber stand to it, than from the large scale on which it is executed. Another argument which proves that this can be no portrait of a deceased believer is the costume, for while the usual portrait-figures which occur in the works of the fourth century are clad in the dress of that period, already widely removed from that of the Roman time, the personages of the Old and New Testament, like this portrait of Christ, retain an antique, ideal costume, or, as on most sarcophagi, at any rate the Roman toga and long tunic.

The other portrait of Christ was found in the Pontian Catacombs on the Via Portuensis. With the exception of a few unimportant deviations, it agrees tolerably in character with that just described. The figure is, however, draped, and the whole work has certain peculiarities which appear to mark a later period of art. Both these portraits agree, if not strictly, yet in general features, with the description in Lentulus's letter, and portraits and description together serve to prove that the earliest Christian delineators of the person of the Saviour followed no arbitrary conception of their own, but were guided rather by a particular traditional type, differing materially from the Grecian ideal, and which they transmitted in a great measure to subsequent ages. The Virgin Mary occurs so seldom in the earlier paintings of the Catacombs, and then only subordinately, that in those times no particular type had been established for her.

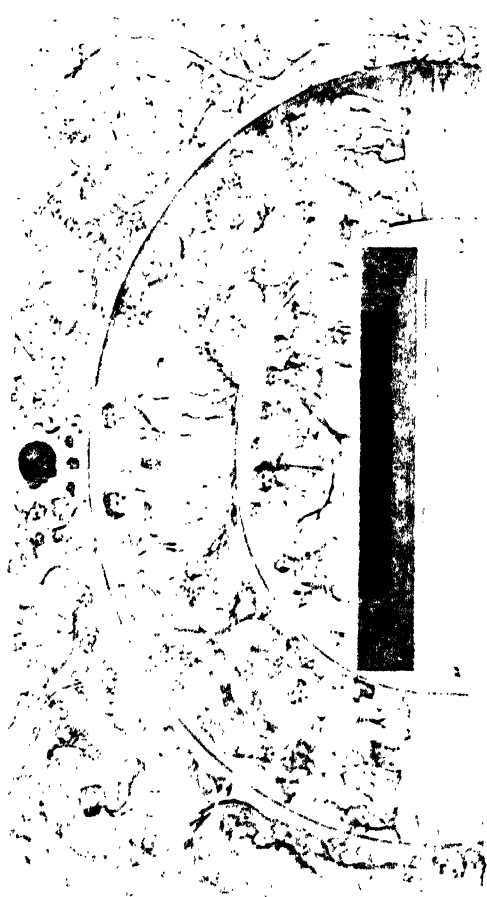
Another painting in the Catacombs of S. Calixtus deserves











mention for its antique style of beauty. Within and above the arch of one of the recesses are seen eleven little genii, encircled with vine tendrils, eagerly occupied in the labours of the vintage. In the recess itself appears Christ, with a scroll in his left hand, turning with the air of a teacher towards a number of hearers; the subject being generally understood to mean his preaching in the synagogue. Here, also, in these Catacombs, may be occasionally traced the habits of the early Christians. We see them assembled for their love-feasts, celebrating baptisms and marriages, and congregating together for the purposes of instruction. As the Catacombs, for many centuries after Constantine the Great, remained open to the public as places of veneration, and as such continued to be decorated in the taste of the day, it follows that the paintings in them extend to much later periods; but possessing, as we do, far more valuable specimens of those periods, we have limited our notice here to those of the earliest times under the Empire.

The Catacombs of Naples are upon a more extensive plan than those of Rome. They contain, however, fewer specimens of the early Christian school, which, though markedly rude in execution, yet, by a stricter drawing and greater body of colour, appear still to maintain a relation with ancient art.

Thus it was, therefore, to sum up the foregoing remarks in a few words, that the genius of ancient art, in spite of the originally vehement aversion entertained for it by the early Church, succeeded in infusing itself into the forms of Christianity. From the mere sign of the new faith, progress had been made to the more artistically designed symbol, and thence to the subject of Biblical allegory—after which the immediate representation of the Saviour, whether under an ideal form or as a more positive portrait, soon followed. And it is highly important to observe how the system of early Christian symbolism, by the deeper meaning which it suggests to the mind of the spectator, unites itself to the spirit of the later Pagan art, in which the subjects of ancient fable, considered as emblems, were merely vehicles for a general idea. Much, therefore, as the higher feeling for power, richness, and beauty of form, as such, had departed from art in the later period of

the Empire—much as the outward expression of art at that time, like the forms of government and habits of life, appears for the most part only fit to be likened to a broken vessel or a cast-off garment; yet, in the formal simplicity of these catacomb and sarcophagus paintings, in the peaceful earnestness of their forms, in their simple expression of a spiritual meaning, to the exclusion of any other aim, we recognise a spirit which contrasts refreshingly with the affectation of later heathenish works.

As regards the state of art under Constantine the Great, there are many works which give us a far higher idea of its technical processes and resources than we should be inclined to infer from the clumsy and ugly sculpture upon the probably hastily erected Arch of Constantine. Great as was the deterioration of ancient art, there still remained too much vigour in its tradition of many centuries not to conceal here and there the reality of its decline. It is true the old laws which regulated the drawing of the human figure had already been much neglected. The heads and extremities upon the sculptured sarcophagi are too large. In painting, on the other hand, the proportions are too long. The positions and *motives*<sup>1</sup> in both too conventional. The marking of the joints is defective—the drapery, though here and there finely felt, is weak in execution—nevertheless we are sometimes agreeably surprised by a spiritedly conceived figure, and, in the portraits, by a by no means inconsiderable power of individualizing. In

<sup>1</sup> [This word, familiar as it is in the technical phraseology of other languages, is not yet generally adopted in our own, and hence some apology may be necessary for employing it as above. It may often be rendered *intention*, but has a fuller meaning. In its ordinary application, and as generally used by the author, it means the principle of action, attitude, and composition in a single figure or group; thus it has been observed, that in some antique gems which are defective in execution, the *motives* are frequently fine. Such qualities in this case may have been the result of the artist's feeling, but in servile copies like those of the Byzantine artists the *motives* could only belong to the original inventor. In its more extended signification the term comprehends invention generally, as distinguished from execution. Another very different and less general sense in which this expression is also used, must not be confounded with the foregoing; thus a *motive* is sometimes understood in the sense of a *suggestion*. It is said, for example, that Poussin found the *motives* of his landscape compositions at Tivoli. In this case we have a *suggestion* improved and carried out; in the copies of the Byzantine artists we have *intentions* not their own, blindly transmitted.—ED.]

point of decoration, too, we observe for a length of time a certain grace, though no actual beauty; while in neatness of execution, for example in the ivory Diptychs, nothing better is to be found in similar works even of the best period. Further, it must be borne in mind that, as compared with the gigantic works of Constantine's time, described by Eusebius and Anastasius, such relics as have descended to us can only be regarded as most inadequate specimens, for we may take it as a rule that the Catacomb pictures of that time belong, without exception, to the more unimportant class of works. To form, as far as possible, a just conception of this epoch of art, we shall, in the course of the ensuing pages, especially call the attention of the reader to such works as, however late in their own date, may be with probability considered as copies or imitations of the productions of the fourth century.

With the general recognition of Christianity as the religion of the state, followed also the introduction of painting into the vast Basilicas and other churches of the new faith, where walls, cupolas, and altars were soon decorated with the utmost splendour. Not content, also, with the rich treasury of Scriptural subjects, Christian art sought her materials in the wide circle of saintly history, nor hesitated even to avail herself of the persons of distinguished living characters. Circumstantial inscriptions, ornamentally disposed, were now adopted to explain the meaning of the picture, and in smaller churches were eventually substituted for them.<sup>1</sup>

The technical processes in vogue at Byzantium at the time when the city assumed its present name consisted at first and elsewhere in those which had hitherto been used for wall paintings—namely, in tempera<sup>2</sup> and encaustic. During the fourth century, however, mosaic, which had hitherto been restricted more particularly to pavements, began to be preferred for churches and even for palaces—a circumstance to

<sup>1</sup> See the important letter by Paulinus de Nola, in Augusti's '*Beiträge zur Christlichen Kunstgeschichte*,' 1841, p. 147. The same occurred in palaces: see '*Chron. Salernitanum*,' chap. 37 (Pertz. *Monum.*), upon the inscriptions of Paulus Diaconus in the palace at Salerno.

<sup>2</sup> [A more or less glutinous medium, soluble, at first, in water, with which the colours were applied.—ED.]

which we are exclusively indebted for the preservation of a number of early Christian subjects of the first class.

Mosaic-work, or the placing together of small cubes of stone, terra-cotta, and, later, of vitrified substances of various colours, for decorations and figures, on the principles of ordinary painting, was an invention of the sumptuous Alexandrian Age, during which a prodigality of form and material began to corrupt the simplicity of Grecian art. According to general tradition, the application of mosaic as an ornament for pavements commenced in the close imitation of inanimate objects, such as broken food and scattered articles, lying apparently upon the floor—thence proceeded in rapid progress to large historical compositions, and, under the first emperors, attained the highest technical development and refinement. It was subsequent to this that it first came into use as a decoration for walls.<sup>1</sup> Under the protection of the Roman dominion this peculiar art spread itself over the ancient world, and was executed in the same manner upon the Euphrates, on Mount Atlas, and in Britain. The inherent defect of such pictures, the impossibility, namely, from the almost mechanical manner in which they were wrought from the cartoon, of imparting to

<sup>1</sup> We own that the middle links between the small cabinet pieces in mosaic, which the relics of Pompeii and imperial Rome have preserved to us, and the suddenly commencing wall-mosaics of Christian origin, are as yet wanting. The temples, baths, and palaces of the later emperors contain innumerable wall-paintings, stuccos, and mosaic pavements, but, as far as we know, no mosaic-work on ceilings or walls. Pliny, it is true, distinctly tells us (xxvi. 64) that mosaic-work, proceeding, as it were, upwards from the pavements, had recently taken possession of the arches above them, and had, since then, been made of vitrified substances; also that mosaic-work had been made capable of expressing every colour, and that these materials were as applicable for the purposes of painting as any other. But the few existing specimens, exceeding the limits of the pavement and the small wall picture—namely, the four pillars and the two mosaic fountains from Pompeii, and a monument of the *Vigna Campana* in Rome, &c.), are of a purely decorative style, without figures; while it is very strange, that neither upon the arches of Diocletian's baths, nor upon those of any other edifices of this period, have any traces of a higher class of painting in a material thus durable been discovered. We are almost tempted to believe that historical mosaic painting of the grander style first started into life in the course of the fourth century, and suddenly took its wide spread. It must be remembered that Anastasius, in his *Life of S. Sylvester*, where he describes the splendid ecclesiastical buildings erected by Constantine, and numbers their scarcely credible amount of objects of decoration, is entirely silent on the subject of mosaics. Certainly he pays them, elsewhere, no great attention.

them any immediate expression of feeling, appears, consistently with the Roman love of solidity, to have been fully counter-balanced by their durability. The essential conditions of this branch of art—its restriction, as far as possible, to large and simple forms—its renunciation of rich and crowded compositions, and its indispensable requisite of general distinctness—have exercised, since the time of Constantine, an important influence over the whole province of art.

It must be remembered, however, that the style to which the materials and practice of this art necessarily and gradually tended, may by no means be considered to have attained its highest perfection at the period of its first application to the walls and arches of Christian churches. The earliest, and the only Christian mosaics of the fourth century with which we are acquainted, those on the waggon-roof of the ambulatory of S. Costanza, near Rome,<sup>1</sup> belong essentially to the decorative school of ancient art, while their little genii, among vine-tendrils, on a white ground, stand on a parallel line of art with similar subjects in the Catacombs of S. Calixtus.<sup>2</sup> In the fifth century, also, historical mosaic painting attempted paths of development which it soon after and for ever renounced. Considered apart from those, at first frequent, early Christian symbols and Biblical allegories, which subsequently declined, this style of art essayed its powers also in the line of animated historical composition, and it was only by degrees that the range of its subjects became so narrowed as to comprehend only those where the arrangement was in the strictest symmetry, and the mode of conception, as regards single figures, of a tranquil statuesque character. But as our power of judgment here depends especially upon a knowledge of the transitions of style, we shall proceed chronologically, and point out the changes of subject as they occur. Fortunately

<sup>1</sup> Either built under Constantine as a baptistery for the neighbouring church of S. Agnes, or, soon after him, as a monumental chapel to his two daughters (see Platner). The supposition of its being a temple of Bacchus, which the subjects of the mosaics had suggested, is now given up.

<sup>2</sup> If we may venture to form a general conclusion from so isolated a specimen, we should say that this almost exclusively ornamental mosaic at S. Costanza argues the probability that those earlier Roman ceiling mosaics, of which Pliny speaks, were, for the greater part, only of a decorative kind.

for us, the dates of these changes are for the most part accurately defined. Here, however, as in the later times of heathen art, only very few artists' names appear—a circumstance consistent with the moral condition of the world of art at that time. For it may be assumed that where, as in this case, the mind of the patron is chiefly intent upon a display of luxury and a prodigality of decoration, the fame of the workman is sure to be obscured by the splendour of material execution. At the same time that artist who, in a period like the fourth and fifth centuries, could establish such a type of Christ as we shall have occasion to comment on in the church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, well deserves to have had his name transmitted to posterity.

It is not to be wondered at that the school of church mosaics, after attaining its full development of style, should be found to exhibit an essential difference of character as compared with the pictures in the Catacombs. We have no longer to do with the secretly executed works of a persecuted sect, who were content not only to accept of a slightly expressed symbol for the sake of its spiritual meaning, but who shrank from all direct representation of holy things; what we have now to consider are rather the ostentatious trophies of a triumphant Church, which, having cast aside its early timidity, demands the representation of such subjects as exhibit the accomplishment of prophecy more than prophecy itself. Execution is now on the grandest scale,—materials of the costliest descriptions. True it is that another century has been added to those which already separate us from the bright period of ancient art; nevertheless it is to the lingering vitality of the spirit which animated that period that the new forms and subjects before us are indebted for the dignity and even the occasional majesty which they display.

The most numerous and valuable mosaics of the fifth and following centuries are found in the churches of Rome and Ravenna.<sup>1</sup> The Bishopric of Rome, enriched beyond all others

<sup>1</sup> A complete collection also of those specimens, which have subsequently disappeared, occurs in Ciampini's '*Vetera Monumenta in quibus præcipue Musiva Opera illustrantur*,' Roma, 1747. (The illustrations unfortunately are so incorrect, that no conclusion can be formed as to style.) See also

by the munificence of its Emperors and the piety of private individuals, erected itself, more and more, into the principal seat of the hierarchy, while Ravenna, on the other hand, became successively the residence of the last members of the imperial Theodosian house, of several of the Ostrogoth sovereigns, and finally that of an orthodox Archbishop, whose power and dignity for a long time hardly yielded to that of the Papacy. Here it was that painting again united itself closely with architecture, and submitted to be guided by the latter not only in external arrangement, but in great measure also in direction of thought. In the generally circular or polygonal Baptisteries, the decoration of which was chiefly confined to the cupola, it was natural that the centre subject should represent the Baptism of Christ, round which the figures of the Apostles formed an outward circle. In the few larger churches, with cupolas and circular galleries, scarcely any traces of mosaics have been preserved, though we have reason to conclude that in their original state the decorations in this line of art exhibited peculiar beauties of conception and arrangement. In this we are supported by the character of the mosaics in the existing, and in some measure still perfect, Basilicas. This form of church building had generally obtained in the East. It consisted in a principal oblong space, of three or five aisles, divided by rows of columns -- the centre aisle loftier than the others, and terminating in one or three semi-domed tribunals or *apsides*, before which, in some instances, a transept was introduced. A gradation of surfaces was thus offered to the decorative painter, which, according to their relation with, or local vicinity to, the altar (always in front of the centre *apsis*), offered an appropriate field for the following frequently recurring order of decoration.

The chief apsis behind the altar, as the most sacred portion of the building, was almost invariably reserved for the colossal figure of the standing or enthroned Saviour, with the Apostles or the patron saints and founders of the church on either hand

J. G. Müller, 'Die bildlichen Darstellungen in Sanctuarium der Christliche Kirchen, vom 5ten bis 14ten Jahrh.' Trier, 1835; and v. Quast, 'Die alt Christl. Bauwerke von Ravenna,' Berlin, 1842. Dr. E. Braun is now publishing excellent representations of the mosaics of Rome.



—in later times the Virgin Mary was introduced next to Christ, or even in his stead. Above the chief figure appears generally a hand stretching out of the clouds, and holding a crown—an emblem of the Almighty power of the Father, whose representation in human form was then no longer tolerated, though, as the Creator of the Universe, it appears upon sarcophagi of the age of Constantine. Underneath, in a narrow division, may be seen the Agnus Dei with twelve sheep, which are advancing on both sides from out the gates of Jerusalem and Bethlehem—a symbol of the twelve disciples, or of the faithful generally. Above, and on each side of the arch which terminates the apsis, usually appear various subjects from the Apocalypse, referring to the Advent of our Lord. In the centre generally the Lamb or the book with the seven seals upon the throne; next to it the symbols of the Evangelists, the seven Candlesticks, and the four-and-twenty Elders, their arms outstretched in adoration towards the Lamb. In the larger Basilicas, where a transept is introduced before the apsis, it is divided from the nave by a large arch, called the Arch of Triumph. In this case the subjects from the Apocalypse were usually introduced upon this arch. In addition to this, the clerestory of the centre aisle and the spandrels of the arches over the columns were seldom left, in the larger and more splendid Basilicas, without decoration—so few specimens, however, have been preserved, that it is not easy to arrive at any general conclusion, though we have reason to believe that the decorations consisted simply of a series of Biblical scenes, a double procession of saints and martyrs, a set of portrait heads of the popes, and in the spandrels a variety of early Christian symbols. If by this arrangement any spiritual sequence or progress was intended, we may consider the mosaics of the centre aisle as the expression of the struggling church, or as an abstract idea of the Promise—those on the Arch of Triumph, or on the Arch of the Tribune, as the announcement of the Advent of Christ—those in the tribune itself as the representation of His glory, although, in the latter case, this interpretation does not always hold good, inasmuch as the apsis more frequently represents only the relation of Christ to the patron saint and founder of

the building itself. Of those representations of the Passion of our Lord, which, in the middle ages, occupied the high altar, no trace is as yet to be found—probably because they offered no attraction to the artist, and also because, at that time, art did not concern itself so much with the Epic delineation of the history of Christ as with the widest possible expression of the idea of the Church—on which account it is that we find the martyrs, the saints, the apocalyptic emblems, the elders, the sheep, and even the founders of the building on the terminating apsis. That symmetrical arrangement which is here universally apparent, and which remained the characteristic of religious art till the close of the middle ages, we must not yet consider—proceeding, as it did, necessarily from the union of architecture and painting—as a *principle* of Christian art. But, on the other hand, there is no doubt that the sacred numbers occurring in Scripture, such as 3, 4, 12, 24, &c.; and later, the adoption of corresponding subjects from the Old and New Testament as type and anti-type, greatly contributed to its development.

The earliest mosaics of the fifth century with which we are acquainted, namely, the internal decorations of the baptistery of the cathedral at Ravenna, are, in respect of figures as well as ornament, among the most remarkable of their kind. The building is of an octagon form, surmounted by a cupola. A double row of arches occupies the walls: in the spandrls of the lower ones, between splendid gold arabesques on a blue ground, are seen the figures of the eight prophets, which, in general conception, especially in the motives of the draperies, are in no way distinguishable from the later antique works. Though the execution is light and bold, the *chiaroscuro* is throughout tolerably complete. In the upper tier of arches, between rich architectural decorations, a series of stucco reliefs occupy the place of the mosaics. The subjects of these are male and female saints, with rams, peacocks, sea-horses, stags, and griffins above; chiefly white upon a red-yellow or grey ground. At the base of the cupola is a rich circle of mosaics consisting of four altars, with the four open books of the Gospel, four thrones with crosses, eight Episcopal sedilia beneath conch-niches, and eight elegant tombs surmounted with garlands. All these sub-

jects are divided symmetrically, and set in a framework of architecture of beautiful and almost Pompeian character. Within this circle appear the chief representations—the twelve Apostles, colossal in size; and in the centre, as a circular picture, the Baptism of Christ. The Apostles stand upon a green base, representing the earth, with a blue background, under a white gold-decorated drapery, which embraces the whole circle of the cupola, and is divided into compartments by gold acanthus plants. The robes of the Apostles are of gold stuff; and as they step along in easy, dignified measure, bearing crowns in their hands, they form a striking contrast to the stiff immobility of later mosaics. The heads, like most of those in the Catacomb pictures, are somewhat small, and, at the same time, by no means youthfully ideal or general, but rather livingly individual, and even of that late Roman character of ugliness which is so observable in the portraits of the time. In spite of their walking action the heads are not given in profile, but in front, which, in a work otherwise of such excellence, is decidedly not ascribable to any inability of drawing on the part of the artist, but to the desire of giving the spectator as much as possible of the holy countenances. In default of a definite type for the Apostles—the first traces of which can at most be discerned in the figure of St. Peter, who appears with grey hair, though not as yet with a bald head—they are distinguished by inscriptions. Especially fine in conception and execution are the draperies, which, in their gentle flow and grandeur of massing, recall the best Roman works. As in the antique representations of Victory, the folds appear to be agitated by a supernatural wind. In the centre picture—the Baptism of Christ—the character of the nude is still easy and unconstrained, the lower part of the Saviour's figure being seen through the water—a mode of treating this subject which continued late into the middle ages, probably on account of the artist's objection to give any incomplete representation of the Saviour's form. We are led to conclude this from the fact that in other figures, where no such scruples existed, that part of the person which is in the water is generally rendered invisible. The head of Christ, with the long divided hair, corresponds in great measure with the already described Catacomb type. The

whole is still treated somewhat in the spirit of ancient fable, the figure being represented simply, without nimbus or glory, with a cross between the Saviour and the Baptist; while the river Jordan, under the form of a river God, rises out of the water on the left, in the act of presenting a cloth. The angels, which in later representations perform this office, occur but rarely at this time. The combined ornamental effect, the arrangement of the figures, and the delicate feeling for colour pervading the whole, enable us to form an idea of the genuine splendour and beauty which have been lost to the world in the destruction of the later decorated buildings of Imperial Rome.

Of a totally different description are those now much restored mosaics, dating from A.D. 432 to 440, which occupy the centre aisle and arch of triumph in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome. On the upper walls of the centre aisle, in thirty-one pictures (those which are lost not included), are represented, on a small scale, incidents from the Old Testament, with the histories of Moses and Joshua; while, on the arch of triumph, on each side of the apocalyptic throne, appear in several rows, one above the other, scenes from the life of Christ, beginning with the Annunciation and ending with the beheading of John the Baptist; including also the figures of the apostles Peter and Paul, and the emblems of the Evangelists. The Passion of Christ is here still excluded. It may be remarked also that in the Adoration of the Wise Men the Infant Christ is seen seated alone upon the throne, while his mother stands among the crowd. Below, on each side, are the believers under the form of lambs; with the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem behind. In the freedom of historical composition which characterises these mosaics they differ in no essential principle from the antique; however evident—in point of deficiency of keeping and drawing, in awkwardness of action, and in the laborious crowding together of the figures—the increasing inability of execution may appear. The costumes, especially of the warriors, are still of the ancient cast, and in single figures—particularly on the arch of triumph—excellent in style, though, at the same time, not seen to advantage in this material on so small a scale. Outlines and shadows are strongly and boldly defined.

Contemporary with these last examples, or, at all events, before A.D. 450, we may consider the rich decorations of the monumental chapel of the Empress Galla Placidia at Ravenna,<sup>1</sup> preserved entire with all its mosaics; and, therefore, alone fitted to give us an idea of the general decorations of the ornamented buildings of that period. This chapel, generally known as the church of SS. Nazaro e Celso, is built in the form of a cross, the centre being occupied by a square elevation, arched over in the form of the segment of a cupola: aisles and transepts terminate above in waggon roofs. The lower walls were formerly faced with marble slabs. From the cornice upwards begin the mosaics, chiefly gold upon a dark-blue ground, which binds the whole together with a pleasant effect. Upon the arches are ornaments, which, though not in the antique taste, belong, in point of elegance, to the most excellent of their kind. On the lunettes, at the termination of the transepts, are seen golden stags advancing between green-gold arabesques upon a blue ground towards a fountain—an emblem of the conversion of the heathen. In the lunette over the entrance of the nave we observe the Good Shepherd, of very youthful character, seated among his flock; while in the chief lunette over the altar Christ appears full length, with the flag of victory, burning the writings of the heretics (or of the philosophers) upon a grate. On the walls of the elevated portion before alluded to are seen the Apostles, two-and-two, without any particular attributes; between and below each, a pair of doves sipping out of basins; and finally, in the cupola itself, between large stars, a richly decorated cross and the symbols of the Evangelists. Upon the whole, the combination of symbols and historical characters in these mosaics evinces no definite principle or consistently carried out thought; and, with the exception of the Good Shepherd,<sup>2</sup> the figures are of inferior character. At the same time, in point of decorative harmony, the effect of the whole is incomparable. On that account we may the more lament the loss of the very extensive mosaics of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Ravenna, also built by the Empress Galla Placidia. Another, probably contemporary work, namely, the single apsis of the vestibule

in the baptistery of the Lateran in Rome (of the time of Sixtus III., A.D. 432 to 440?), gives us a high idea of the fine feeling for decoration which was peculiar to this otherwise degenerate age. The semicircle of the apsis is filled with the most beautiful green-gold tendrils upon a dark-blue ground, above which the Agnus Dei appears with four doves.

The age of Pope Leo the Great (A.D. 440 to 462) is distinguished by an imposing work, the conception of which is attributable probably to the Pope himself, and which became a favourite example for subsequent times—we mean, the mosaics on the arch of triumph in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, in Rome, which partially survived the unfortunate fire in 1823, and are now in progress of repair. Within a cruciform nimbus fifteen feet in diameter, and surrounded with rays, shines forth in the centre the colossal figure of the Saviour—the right hand raised in benediction, the left holding the sceptre; a delicately folded mantle of thin material covers the shoulders; the form is stern, but grand in conception; the eyebrows in finely arched half-circles above the widely-opened eyes; the nose in a straight Grecian line; the mouth, which is left clear of all beard, closed with an expression of mild serenity, and hair and beard divided in the centre. Above, in the clouds, on a smaller scale, are seen the four winged animals bearing the books of the Gospels; lower down two angels (perhaps one of the earliest specimens of angel representation) are lowering their wands before the Redeemer, on each side of whom the four-and-twenty elders are humbly casting their crowns—those on the right bareheaded, the others covered; the one signifying the prophets of the Old Testament, who only saw the truth through a veil; the other, the apostles of the New Testament, who beheld it face to face. Finally, below these, where only a narrow space remains next the arch, appear, on the left, St. Paul with the sword, and on the right, St. Peter with the keys; both, in the style of the divided hair, somewhat approaching the type of Christ; both in active gesture, as if engaged in the proclamation of the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> Like the sound of a hymn of praise, the adorations of the old and

<sup>1</sup> We borrow this description of the mosaics of St. Paul from Kinkel,  
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new time, of the Evangelists and of the great teachers of the faith, here unite; and whoever at the same time considers that the whole length of the walls of the centre aisle were formerly occupied with the history of Christ and the Church—consisting of a series of Biblical scenes; with saints, martyrs, and portraits of the Popes, all intended to prepare the eye for the great subjects upon the arch of triumph—will find it difficult to imagine how the mosaics of the tribune itself could surpass in beauty those of the aisles. That this was neither accomplished nor intended may be justly concluded; for if we assume that the subjects of the present mosaics of the apsis, dating from the thirteenth century—namely, Christ, with SS. Peter, Paul, Luke, and Andrew—are the same as those originally occupying this space, it is undeniable that not only greater poetical and symbolical beauty, but a more vigorous and varied representation of the glory of Christ, is to be found upon the arch of triumph,—an observation which we shall have frequent occasion to repeat. For from this time it became the custom to introduce on the arch of triumph, and on the arch above the tribune, on each side of the central Agnus Dei, or half-length of Christ, the figures of angels, apostles, saints, and elders, while the apsis was occupied only with a few statuesque figures referring to the building itself, such as the patron saints, the donors, with Christ in the centre.

These mosaics in the Church of S. Paul may be considered to indicate in more than one respect a by no means unimportant transition period. The feeling for ancient art here only sounds, as it were, from a distance. The Redeemer, for the almost idealized representation of whom in the picture of the Catacomb of St. Calixtus, the naked chest was indispensable, now appears draped up to the throat.<sup>1</sup> The little naked genii, by a total change of intention, give way now to the figures of

<sup>1</sup> We might be inclined to attribute this equally to an exaggerated delicacy of sentiment, and to an artistic incapacity for the delineation of the naked figure. With greater probability, however, it was owing to the intention of rendering the Saviour no longer in a semi-mythological form, but in one of greater historical truth. The prophets Daniel and Jonah, who in the Catacomb pictures are, as the mythological forerunners of Christ, generally represented in a particular and historical form became

angels, who are represented as tall and youthful forms, with wings, entirely draped, and occasionally indicated by their wands as messengers of God. The earlier Christian symbolism, with the idyllic scenery of the Good Shepherd, and the gay decorative forms of the genii of the vintage, have now passed away, and that fantastic mystifying element which has always accompanied all religious art, and has sought to express itself in characters, partly symbolical, partly real, here takes possession of that portion of the New Testament which, from the earliest Christian era, had been enthusiastically read and promulgated, namely, the Book of Revelations. But as, in the history of the Saviour, only the aspect of his glory and not of his suffering was to be given, so in these Apocalyptic pictures it is not the forms of death and destruction which appear, but only those which indicate the glorification of Christ and his people. For we are still in presence of a youthful Church, which required that the glory of her Lord should first be depicted; and also in that of an art which, sunk and decrepit as it was, still retained enough of the strength and dignity of her better days to keep itself free from all that was monstrous and vague.

During the worst times of the decline of the Western Empire, up to the period of Theodoric the Great, art appears to have remained in a stationary condition. The chief mosaics of the sixth century are, in point of conception, scarcely perceptibly inferior to those of the fifth, and in splendour of material by no means so. The distinctive difference between them can at most be traced in an increasing want of spirit, in the still gorgeous style of ornament, and in a somewhat altered treatment of colouring, drawing, and mode of shadowing.

We commence this new class with the finest mosaics of ancient Christian Rome, those of SS. Cosmo e Damiano (A.D. 526 to 530). Above the arch of the tolerably spacious apsis appear, on each side of the Lamb, four angels of excellent but somewhat severe style; then follow various Apocalyptic emblems: a modern walling-up having left but few traces of the figures of the four-and-twenty elders. A gold surface, dimmed by age, with little purple clouds, forms the back-



ground ; though in Rome, at least, at both an earlier and later date, a blue ground prevailed. In the apsis itself, upon a dark-blue ground, with golden-edged clouds, is seen the colossal figure of Christ ; the right hand raised either in benediction or in teaching, the left holding a written scroll ; above is the hand which we have already noticed as the emblem of the First Person of the Trinity. Below, on each side, the apostles Peter and Paul are leading SS. Cosmo and Damiano, each with crowns in their hands, towards the Saviour, followed by St. Theodore on the right, and by Pope Felix IV., the founder of the church, on the left. This latter, unfortunately, is an entirely restored figure. Two palm-trees, sparkling with gold, above one of which appears the emblem of eternity—the phoenix—with a star-shaped nimbus, close the composition on each side. Further below, indicated by water-plants, sparkling also with gold, is the river Jordan. The figure of Christ may be regarded as one of the most marvellous specimens of the art of the middle ages. Countenance, attitude, and drapery combine to give him an expression of quiet majesty, which, for many centuries after, is not found again in equal beauty and freedom. The drapery, especially, is disposed in noble folds, and only in its somewhat too ornate details is a further departure from the antique observable. The saints are not as yet arranged in stiff, parallel forms, but are advancing forward, so that their figures appear somewhat distorted, while we already remark something constrained and inanimate in their step. The apostles Peter and Paul wear the usual ideal costume ; SS. Cosmo and Damiano are attired in the late Roman dress : violet mantles, in gold stuff, with red embroideries of Oriental barbaric effect. Otherwise the chief motives of the drapery are of great beauty, though somewhat too abundant in folds. The high lights are brought out by gold and other sparkling materials, producing a gorgeous play of colour which relieves the figures vigorously from the dark-blue ground. Altogether, a feeling for colour is here displayed of which no later mosaics with gold grounds give any idea. The heads, with the exception of the principal figure, are animated and individual, though without any particular depth of expression ; somewhat elderly, also, in phy-

siognomy, but still far removed from any Byzantine stiffness; St. Peter has already the bald head, and St. Paul the short brown hair and dark beard, by which they were afterwards recognisable. That they are looking in front, and not toward the Saviour, is accounted for by their particular relation as patron saints of the church; it being supposed that the pious believers would desire to behold the whole countenances of those whom they regarded as their especial intercessors. Under this chief composition, on a gold ground, is seen the Lamb upon a hill, with the four rivers of Paradise and the twelve sheep on either hand; these are drawn with much truth of nature, and without any of that heraldic conventionality which belongs to the animal representations of the later middle ages. The whole is executed with the utmost care; this is observable chiefly in the five or six gradations of tints which, in order to obtain the greatest possible softness of shadowing, the artist has adopted.

But, in spite of the high excellence of this work, it is precisely here that we can clearly discern in what respects the degeneracy and impoverishment of art first showed itself. Both here and in succeeding works but little action is exhibited. Real, animated, historical composition also, in the higher sense, left its last and, it is true, very imperfect, memorial with the mosaics of the church of S. Maria Maggiore; and with the exception of a few and constantly repeated Biblical scenes, we have henceforth only to do with the glory-subjects of the apsis, and with representations of ceremonials almost as lifeless. The slightly animated gait also, which imparted to the figures some appearance of life, ceases with the seventh century, at which period an absolutely statuesque immobility of form commences; while the artist soon ceased to comprehend both the principles and the effects of organic movement. Not less characteristic of the rapid wane of art is the increasing age of the holy personages (with the exception of the Saviour, who nevertheless appears in the ripeness of man's estate), SS. Cosmo and Damiano being represented as men of fifty years of age. We have already observed that Christian art, from its earliest commencement, never ventured to represent these personages under mere ideal forms, but

sought rather to clothe them, portrait-like, with the features of a race who had, even physically, deteriorated. Thus the objects proposed to be represented, and the incapacity of representation, coincided more and more; yet for all this, we are every moment reminded of that ancient art whence these works are derived. Even the colossal scale of the forms awakens in the spectator a feeling of awe; the ideal drapery and the regular lines in which it is disposed convey the impression of a higher nature, undisturbed by any earthly passions. Few as the actions were which the artist was capable of expressing, they still served him as the vehicles of grand meaning. When Christ, for example, is represented holding the scroll of the Gospels in His left hand, while His right hand is raised in benediction, the mind is impressed with the sense of His divine attributes as the source of blessing and salvation; or when the apostles and saints point towards Him with outstretched arms, their relation of dependence towards Him, and also of intercession for the believer, is betokened. True it is, the countenances, animatedly individual as they may occasionally appear, are totally deficient of any indication of appropriate expression,—a characteristic which only returns late in the middle ages, long after art had adopted a new ideal.

In Ravenna no mosaics of the Ostrogothic period have been preserved. Even the picture of Theodoric the Great, on the front of his palace, which represented him on horseback, with breastplate, shield and lance, between the allegorical figures of Rome and Ravenna, has, like the mural paintings in his palace at Pavia, entirely disappeared. It was not till towards the middle of the sixth century that mosaic painting recommenced in Ravenna: consequently, after the occupation of Ravenna by the Byzantians in 589; an event, however, which does not warrant the application of the term "Byzantine" to works of that period. The style of art is still of that late Roman class which we have already described, and we have no reason to conclude that the artists belonged to a more Eastern school.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Didron, in his *Byzantine enthusiasm* (see '*Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*,' Paris, 1845, p. 46), ascribes, it is true, the mosaics of S. Vitale

Of doubtful age are the mosaics in S. Maria in Cosmedin, the Baptistery of the Arians, though the decoration of that building belongs almost indisputably to the time of the veritable Byzantine dominion; probably, therefore, to the middle of the sixth century. We here observe a free imitation of the cupola mosaics of the orthodox church. Surrounding the centre picture of the Baptism of Christ are arranged here, as well as in them, the figures of the Twelve Apostles, bearing crowns in their hands, except that their line is interrupted on the east side by a golden throne with a cross. The figures are no longer advancing, but stand motionless, yet without stiffness. The heads are somewhat more uniformly drawn, but the draperies already display stiffness of line, with unmeaning breaks and folds, and a certain crudeness of light and shade. The decline of the feeling for decoration shows itself not only in the unpleasant interruption of the figures caused by the throne, but also in the introduction of heavy palm-trees between the single figures, instead of the graceful acanthus-plant. In the centre picture the naked form of the Christ is somewhat stiffer, though that of St. John is precisely the same as in the Baptisteries of the orthodox church. On the other hand, the river Jordan is introduced as a third person, with the upper part of the figure bare, a green lower garment, hair and beard long and white, two red, crescent-shaped horns on his head, a reed in his hand, and an urn beside him. In the drawing and shadowing of the flesh no great alteration is observable, but the general execution has become somewhat ruder, and the motives here and there less free.

In the year 545 the church of S. Michele in Affricisco was consecrated, the beautiful mosaics of which, in the apsis and upon the arch of triumph, representing the Saviour triumphant among angels and archangels, have been lately taken down and sold to the Prussian government. Two years later, A.D. 547, followed the consecration of the celebrated church of S. Vitale, the mosaics of which may have been completed some short time before. Unfortunately, only the decorations of the principal tribune, and those of the quadrangular arched

to that school, and even particularly to the artist-monks of Mount Athos, though giving no reason for this very bold assertion.

space before it, are all that have been preserved. They refer in subject to the foundation and consecration of the church, with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Gold grounds and blue grounds alternate here, the former being confined to the apsis and to two of the four divisions of the arched space. In the semidome of the apsis appears a still very youthful Christ, seated upon the globe of the world; on each side two angels, with S. Vitalis as patron of the church, and Bishop Ecclesius as founder, the latter carrying a model of the building. Below are the four rivers of Paradise, flowing through green meadows, while the golden ground is striped with purple clouds. The figures are all noble and dignified, especially the Christ, whose ideal youthfulness scarcely recurs after that time. In the drapery there is much that is conventional, especially in the mode of shadowing, though a certain truthfulness still prevails. Upon the perpendicular wall of the apsis appear two large ceremonial representations upon a gold ground, which, as the almost sole surviving specimens of the higher style of profane painting, are of great interest, and, as examples of costume, quite invaluable. The picture on the right represents the relation in which the Emperor Justinian stood to the church—the figures as large as life. In splendid attire, laden with the diadem and with a purple and gold-embroidered mantle, fastened with a monstrous fibula, is seen the Emperor, advancing, his hands full of costly gifts; his haughty, bloated, vulgar, but yet regular countenance, with the eyebrows elevated towards the temples, is seen in front. To him succeed a number of courtiers, doubtless also portraits, and next to them the easily recognisable, fair, Germanic body-guard, with sword and shield. Archbishop Maximian, with his clergy, is advancing to meet the Emperor. He, also, with his bald head, and the pathetic half-closed slits of eyes, is a characteristic portrait of the time. Opposite, on the left, is the Empress Theodora, surrounded by the gorgeously attired ladies and eunuchs of the court, in the act of entering the church. The Empress is also clad in the dark violet (purple) imperial mantle, and from her grotesque diadem hangs a whole cascade of beads and jewels, enclosing a narrow, pale, highly significant face, in whose large, hollow eyes, and small



Mosaics of the 6th century in S. Vitale at Ravenna, representing JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA.



sensual mouth, the whole history of that clever, imperious, voluptuous, and merciless woman is written. A chamberlain before her is drawing back a richly embroidered curtain, so as to exhibit the entrance-court of a church, betokened as such by its cleansing fountain. Justinian and Theodora are distinguished by bright nimbuses, a homage which the artist of that time could scarcely withhold, since he evidently knew no other form of flattery. Of somewhat inferior execution are the mosaics of the lofty quadrangular space before the apsis, representing the Old Testament symbols of the sacrifice of the mass. On the vaulting, between green gold tendrils upon a blue ground, and green upon a gold ground, are four flying angels upon globes, resembling antique victories; below them, in the four corners, are four peacocks, as emblems of Eternity. On the upper wall, above the apsis, two angels, gracefully hovering, are holding a shield with the sign of the Redeemer; on each side, blazing with jewels, of which they are entirely constructed, are the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with vine-tendrils and birds, on a blue ground, above them. On either side wall, in an architectural framework,<sup>1</sup> which we are at a loss to describe, are the subjects we have already mentioned. Two semicircles contain the principal subjects, viz., the bloody and bloodless sacrifice of the Old Covenant. We see Abraham carrying out provisions to the three young men in white garments, who are seated at table under a leafless but budding tree, while Sarah stands behind the door laughing. Then, again, we behold the Patriarch on the point of offering up his son Isaac, who kneels naked before him. Then Abel (an excellent and perfectly antique shepherd figure) in the act of holding up his sacrifice of the firstling of the flock before a wooden hut, while Melchisedec (designated by a nimbus as the symbol of Christ), advancing from a temple in the form of a Basilica, pronounces a blessing over the bread and wine. The pictures then continue further the history of the Old Covenant, showing Moses, who, as the prefiguration of Christ, is here represented as a youth; then again, as he first appears under the character of a shepherd, and lastly as he is receiving

<sup>1</sup> D'Agincourt gives an idea of it. See his '*Histoire de l'Art*,' Plate XVI.



the tables of the Law upon the Mount, while the people are waiting below. Isaiah and Jeremiah, grey-headed men in white robes, appear to be vehemently agitated by the spirit of prophecy ; and further upward, in similar gestures of inspiration, are seen the Four Evangelists seated with their emblems, St. Matthew looking up to the angel as if to a vision. Above, the subject is closed by fine arabesques, vine-tendrils, and birds. Finally, in the front archivolt next the dome are thirteen medallions between elegant arabesques upon a blue ground, containing the portraits of Christ and the Apostles ; individual, portrait-like heads, several of which have suffered a later restoration. The execution of the whole front space is partially rude and superficial, especially in the prophets and evangelists. In drawing, also, these portions are inferior to the works in the apsis, although, in that respect, they still excel those of the following century. In the delineation of animals, for example in the Lion of St. Mark, a sound feeling for nature is still evinced ; the same in the tree before Abraham's dwelling. In many parts the background landscape is elevated in a very remarkable manner, consisting of steep steps of rocks covered with verdure, an evident attempt to imitate the forms of reality. Unfortunately nothing more is preserved of the mosaics of the cupola and the rest of the church.

The next specimens to be considered are the mosaics in S. Apollinare Nuovo, formerly the Basilica of Theodoric the Great, which, in all probability, were executed chiefly between the years 553 and 566, and are also perfectly unique in their way, though the principal portions, apsis and arch of triumph, have been restored. But the upper walls of the centre aisle are still sparkling, from the arches up to the roof, with their original and very rich mosaic decorations. Two prodigious friezes, next above the arch, contain long processions upon a gold ground, which, belonging as they do, to the very last days of ancient art, remind us curiously of that Panathenaic procession upon the Parthenon at Athens. On the right are the martyrs and the confessors ; they are advancing solemnly out of the city of Ravenna, which is here signified by a magnificent representation of the palace of the Ostrogothic kings, with its upper and lower arcade and corner towers and domes.

Through the entrance-gate a gold ground shines forth, as symbol of dominion. On the walls are the female forms of Victory in gay garments; and white hangings, richly decorated with flowers and fringes, ornament the lower arcade. The procession is advancing in slow but well-expressed movement through an avenue of palm-trees, which divide the single figures. All are clad in light-coloured garments, with crowns in their hands. Their countenances are all greatly similar, and (in contradistinction to the individual character of the figures of the apostles in the older Baptisteries and even in S. Vitale) are reduced to a few spirited lines, though still tolerably true to nature. The execution is careful, as is also the gradation of the tints. At the end of the procession, and as the goal of it, appears Christ upon a throne, the four archangels around him—noble, solemn figures, in no respect inferior either in style or execution to those in the apsis of S. Vitale. On the left side of the church (that which was occupied by the women) we perceive a similarly arranged procession of female martyrs and confessors advancing from the suburb of Classis, recognised by its harbours and fortifications. At the head of the procession is the Adoration of the Three Kings. Upon a throne, surmounted by four beautiful angels, appears the Madonna,—here perhaps first represented as an object of reverence. She is depicted as a matron of middle age, with her right hand raised in the act of benediction; a veil upon her head, which is encircled by the nimbus. Upon her lap is seated the already well-grown and fully clothed child, also in act of benediction. Of the subject of the Three Kings the greater portion has been restored, but a spiritedly expressed and active action is still discernible, as well as the splendid barbaric costume, with its richly bordered doublet, short silken mantle, and nether garments of tiger-skin. Here, as in the opposite frieze, the last portion of the subject is best treated. Further up, between the windows, are single figures of the apostles and saints standing in niches, with birds and vases between them. The dark and heavy shadowing of their white garments, and the stiff and unrefined conception of the whole, certainly indicate a somewhat later period, probably the seventh century.

Quite above, and over the windows, on a very small scale, and now scarcely distinguishable, are the Miracles of our Lord.

We may next be allowed to mention the mosaics in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace at Ravenna, which, although upon no contemptible historical grounds<sup>1</sup> attributable to an earlier age, yet in style remind us more of the latter end of the sixth century. The chapel consists of a dome upon four circular arches, on the soffits of which, upon a gold ground, are sets of seven medallions, with the pictures of the very youthful Christ, of the apostles, and several saints, upon a blue ground, a work which approaches very nearly the thirteen circular pictures in S. Vitale, but is lighter and inferior in execution. The centre of the gold-grounded dome is occupied by a large medallion with the monogram of Christ, upheld by four simple and graceful angel figures rising from the four springings of the arch. In the four intermediate spaces are the winged emblems of the Evangelists, bearing the richly decorated books of the Gospel. The Lion of St. Mark is remarkable for an almost human form of head. A broad passage leads into a space beyond, terminating in a waggon roof. This is decorated with birds and flowers upon a gold ground, which are very rudely and sketchily treated, and probably belong to a still later period.

We have at present only considered the more important of the *still existing* works of the fifth and sixth centuries, but, according both to tradition and analogy, those which are lost must have been incomparably more splendid, more extensive, and grander in plan. Of the incalculable wealth of mosaics belonging to the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, only a few colossal seraphim, and the traces of a figure of the Madonna with angels, have descended to us; all the other

<sup>1</sup> See Von Quast, *ibid.*, p. 16, where they are pronounced to belong to the middle of the fifth century chiefly on account of a monogram "Petrus" which is considered to refer to the then living archbishop Petrus Chrysologus. We should rather connect it with the Archbishop Petrus IV. A.D. 569 to 574. Altogether we have taken the chronology of the mosaics partly from the already cited works of Von Quast, and partly from Platner's and Ulrich's 'Beschreibung Rom's.' Schnaase, in his 'Kunstgeschichte,' vol. iii. p. 202, assigns to S. Maria Maggiore in Rome the date of 425-430, and to S. Maria in Cosmedin, and S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, a period before the year 526.

principal works of the time of Justinian, as for example the great cupola picture in the vestibule of the palace at Constantinople, representing the Emperor as Monarch of the World, surrounded by his court, have utterly disappeared. All that remains for us now is to mention a few specimens, the date of which is uncertain, but which may be probably assigned to this period. In S. Pudenziana at Rome, for instance, there is a large apsis mosaic, too much restored at different times for the date to be now determinable; it belonged originally perhaps even to the fourth century, at all events not to the time of Pope Hadrian I. (A.D. 772-785), or of Hadrian III. (A.D. 884-885), as is the common opinion; for even if the building itself be proved to be of more recent date, still this work at least must have been copied from one much older. The centre represents Christ upon the throne, on either hand St. Peter and St. Paul, and the two female saints Praxedis and Pudentiana. These figures are projecting half-length above a row of eight male half-figures in antique drapery (portraits, perhaps, of the founders), which are not placed singly side by side, but overlap each other like double profiles on a coin. Behind all these figures is seen an arcade with a roof and glittering buildings over it. Above, in the heavens, which are represented by purple, gold-edged clouds, are the four signs of the Evangelists, and, in the centre, a richly decorated gold cross. The architectural background, the perspective arrangement of the figures, their very broad and free treatment (so far as they are not the work of the modern restorer), indicate, if we are not mistaken, the Constantinian period of art, though we are judging from what is perhaps only a copy, and at all events from a more than commonly disfigured work.

In the circular church of S. Teodoro in Rome a figure of Christ among saints, upon a gold ground, has been preserved in the end tribune. This work is probably not earlier than the seventh century, and is chiefly interesting to us here as one of the earliest specimens of the copying of the old mosaics. Christ is represented in a violet robe, with long light hair and short beard, with an expression of great benignity. He is seated in the act of benediction upon a blue, starred globe,

with a long sceptre in his left hand. St. Peter, on the right, is conducting St. Theodore; and St. Paul, on the left, another youthful saint, both presenting their crowns upon their richly embroidered mantles as an offering to Christ. The figures of St. Peter and St. Theodore are here exact copies of those in the corresponding subject in SS. Cosmo e Damiano, while the younger saint, with his eyes humbly cast down, is probably a new creation. From what older and perhaps demolished picture the representation of the Christ is taken we know not. The execution is good, the shadowing careful, and even the naked portions are here depicted with tolerable spirit; only in the unmeaning character of the drapery is the deep decline of art apparent. The mosaics upon the arch of triumph in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, near Rome (towards the hinder church), bear the positive dates of A.D. 578, 590, but have been so restored and disfigured that, to all appearance, they belong to a later period. They represent Christ upon the globe of the world, surrounded by five saints, with Pope Pelagius II., the founder of the building. Finally, we may here notice the mosaics in the octagon side-chapel of S. Lorenzo in Milan, where Christ, with the apostles in white garments, and also a pastoral scene in a very ancient anti-Byzantine style of art (if we are not mistaken), decorate the semidomes of two large niches.

Next in importance to the art of mosaics must be considered that of miniature painting, by means of which the books employed both in the service of the church and for purposes of private devotion, as also many of a worldly import, were adorned with more or less of pictorial splendour. In the deep religious reverence of the times, amounting occasionally to superstition, it became usual to decorate the contents as well as the exterior of the Scriptures in the most gorgeous manner, a fashion which commenced doubtless with the copies of the classic authors which needed the assistance of pictorial illustration to explain those usages and costumes which had passed away with the glory of the ancient world. In this line of art the range of subjects is far more extensive than in that of the Catacomb or mosaic pictures; and some of the earliest specimens of miniature-painting present to us once more the

antique mode of composition, in such grandeur and variety that we can only the more regret the treasures of this kind which have perished. To this class of art belongs the Book of Joshua in the Library of the Vatican. This is a parchment roll of more than thirty feet long, entirely covered with historical scenes; according to an inscription upon it, not of earlier date than the ninth or eighth century, but doubtless from some work of the best early Christian time. This interesting specimen has the appearance of a carefully but boldly and freely drawn sketch, executed in few colours, and differs greatly from the highly finished splendour of later Byzantine miniatures. There is a spirit in the composition, a beauty in some of the motives, and a richness of invention in the whole, which assign to this work the highest place among the properly historical representations of early Christian times. Costume and weapons are here still perfectly antique: Joshua is always distinguished by the nimbus, as are also the fine symbolical female forms, with sceptres and mural crowns, which represent the besieged and conquered cities. For the whole landscape is expressed by symbols, mountain and river deities, &c. In the battle scenes the wildest action is often most happily expressed, though the artist, of course, shows little knowledge either of perspective or of the relative proportion of the figures. The copyist of the later period is discernible, almost solely, by his obvious ignorance of the drawing of joints and extremities. In this respect the celebrated Virgil of the Vatican, No. 3225, as an original work of the fourth or fifth century, appears to greater advantage, though, in composition, it does not equal the Book of Joshua. The colours, where they are not so rubbed away as to exhibit the drawing beneath, are light in tint, and have considerable body. The shadowing is slight, and, as yet, not too minute. The drawing displays a superabundance of motives from the antique, though, in the action of the figures, it is already very inanimate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The above-mentioned and other miniatures may be judged of in the tolerably authentic tracings in D'Agincourt's '*Histoire de l'Art*,' Tab. XIX., where the Virgil especially, which, however, does not further concern us here, is, upon the whole, well rendered. A very remarkable Syrian book of the Gospels, executed A.D. 586 in a Mesopotamian monastery by one Rabula, a calligraphist, exists in the Laurentian Library at Florence. If we may form

Of the same early period, but much more defective in drawing, appears to us the Book of Genesis in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan fifty-eight miniatures have been preserved, fragments of a manuscript Homer. These also date from the fourth or fifth century, and in the broad, solid manner in which the colours are applied, as well as in the treatment of the drapery, have quite the antique look. At the same time the details are still more weakly and unskilfully executed, and the composition not only scattered as in the Vatican Virgil, but either confused or monotonous.<sup>1</sup> A Vatican Terence of the ninth century is, perhaps, the very rude copy of an excellent work of classic times. Besides these we find beautiful single figures and compositions of early Christian and antique feeling scattered in various separate manuscripts even in the later middle ages, showing that, in the gradual decline of the powers of invention, it became a matter of convenience to copy what already existed.

As early as after the conquest of Italy by the Longobards, but principally after the seventh century, there occurs a division in the schools of painting: those artists who persevere exclusively in the old track may be observed to sink into barbaric ignorance of form, while on the other hand, for mosaics and all higher kinds of decorative work, the style and materials of Byzantine art, which we shall consider in the next chapter, come more and more into vogue. Thus it happened that the more important Italian works of the seventh and succeeding centuries are found to follow the Byzantine

any conclusion from the specimens in D'Agincourt, Plate 27, it appears that the decline of art took a different direction here to that which is apparent among the Byzantians. Here we are struck by full, round, though otherwise very conventional forms, accompanied by the greatest spirit of action and gesture. The Ascension, which D'Agincourt has selected as a specimen, would, the period considered, give a very high idea of the composition of these miniatures. At all events, the figure of Christ hovering among angels, and the animated group of apostles and angels on each side of the Madonna, is not conceived without grandeur, though wretched in execution. By the same hand, it may here be observed, is the first existing representation of the Crucifixion.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliadis fragmenta cum Picturis, &c., edente Aug. Maio, &c.* Milan, 1819.—Fifty-eight outline drawings, much restored by some able modern hand.

style, while the lesser class of works, such as miniatures and a few surviving sculptures, seem (occasionally at least) to run wild in a total licence of style which may be designated as the Longobardian. The miniatures consist of rudely daubed outlines filled up with patches of colour.<sup>1</sup> As specimens of the sculptural school we may cite the relief on the hinder door of S. Fidele in Como, with the subject of Habakkuk carried by angels by the hair of his head. In these short, thick figures, with their coarse, heavy countenances and extremities, it would be difficult to recognise even the faintest trace of ancient art. Nevertheless we are fully conscious that in these apparently formless productions of conventionality, as opposed to the more legitimate Byzantine rigidities, there lay a germ of freedom from which, later, a new school of development was to spring.

<sup>1</sup> For information on the Longobardian style, see Von Rumohr's '*Ital. Forschungen*,' vol. i. p. 186, where a catalogue of the few adducible specimens is given, consisting of the remains of the Frescoes in the Crypt of the Cathedral of Assisi, and in the subterranean chapel of S. Nazaro e Celso at Verona (where a glory and Biblical scenes are rudely painted upon a white ground), several manuscripts, &c. Unfortunately nothing is preserved of the Longobardian historical subjects which Queen Theolinda caused to be painted in her palace at Monza at the beginning of the seventh century. According to Paulus Diaconus the old national costume of the Longobards was correctly portrayed in them. The Longobardian diplomas at Monte Casino and other places generally commence with a miniature.

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## PART II.

## THE BYZANTINE STYLE.

THE commencement of the Byzantine school is generally placed at an earlier period than that of the fifth century, which we here assume. The reasons which lead us to differ in this respect have been already alluded to. Up to the beginning of the seventh century art appears to us, as far as Roman civilization still existed, to be essentially one and the same in the east and the west, and therefore entitled to no other name than that of late Roman, or early Christian. If, as early as the fifth and sixth centuries, the foundations of that school are discernible which later developed itself more especially into the art of the Eastern Empire, we must not, on that account, assume for it, at that time, the appellation of Byzantine, but rather designate it only as that late Roman style which, wherever the Roman element was not too thoroughly amalgamated with the Germanic, was common to the whole ancient world. It was not until after the middle of the seventh century that this state of things broke up. Under the Emperor Justinian the Eastern Empire acquired that form which adhered to it in the following centuries, while, in an intellectual sense, it is from that period also that the Byzantine element may be said to have attained its full development. In Italy, on the other hand, this was precisely the period of the deepest decline of art. After having surrendered up its mildest rulers, the Ostrogoths, to the armies of Justinian, and submitted itself to the Eastern dominion, it was next invaded by the Longobards, who brought about the most singular division of the country. For while the great mass of the centre of the land fell to the invaders, the important coast regions, including the largest cities, and all the islands, remained in possession of the Byzantines. This, therefore, was the time for this portion of the territory, perpetually threatened as it was by the Longobards, to attach itself more closely to

the protecting power of Byzantium. Now also the period had arrived when the decline both of art and civilization may be considered to have so increased that an influence from without had become indispensable, and therefore it is that for that universal style of art which, in the seventh century, prevailed alike in Rome as in Naples, in Apulia and Calabria as in Sicily, in Ravenna and the Pentapolis as in the rising city of Venice, and even partially in Genoa—differing as it does from the previous late Roman school—we rightly assume the title of *Byzantine*. The victories of Charlemagne had, later, no power to destroy or interrupt the deeply founded connexion between the schools of Italy and Constantinople, while Lower Italy and that city which was hereafter to play such a conspicuous part in the history of art, namely Venice, remained inaccessible to his attacks.

The diffusion of the Byzantine style may be conjecturally accounted for in various ways. There is no doubt that from the great nursery school of Constantinople many a Greek artist emigrated into Italy. At that time the Eastern capital abounded unquestionably in workshops, whence the provinces were supplied with innumerable works of every kind, from the statue or the painting, to the capital of a pillar. The monasteries of Constantinople and Thessalonica (?), and those of Mount Athos, we may regard as the great central *ateliers* of painting; while, on the other hand, it is certain that many an artist from the West pursued his studies in the chief places of artistic activity in the East. In this way there ensued in Italy every grade of relationship with Byzantine art, from the directest school connexion, to the merest superficial influence. Finally, we shall endeavour to show that the Byzantine style, in connexion with the state of civilization at that time, was precisely the most easily communicable in outward forms which the history of art, in the higher civilized nations, has ever known. So much so, that works executed at third hand, for instance, by the Western scholars of a Western master—himself having been perhaps but for a short time the pupil of some emigrated Greek artist—differ in no great degree from the original models in Constantinople itself.

The indisputable advantage which Byzantium possessed over

the Western countries, in point of art, consisted in its freedom from all barbarian invasion, in its totally undisturbed tradition and cultivation (or perversion) of ancient art, and in that tendency to neatness and elegance of execution, such as the luxury of a great capital demanded, which went hand in hand with these advantages. It matters not how widely the modes of composition differed from those of antiquity—how little there was in common between the heavy, gloomy, varnished colours of this school, and the light, graceful colouring of the old Roman works—it was still of the greatest importance that there should have been one spot in the world where artistic activity on a large scale never faltered; just as it was important, in a political sense, for the earlier middle ages of the West to have always possessed, in the Byzantine government, an undisturbed normal form for their authority in times of emergency. But we must remember that no art is nourished by tradition and colossal undertakings alone. Her proper existence can only be supplied from those thousand moral sources which we comprehend in the widest sense by the term “national life;” and in Byzantium these sources were either greatly troubled or entirely sealed. The worn-out forms of the old world are here found, to use a hackneyed but most suitable illustration, embalmed like mummies for the wonder of posterity. The monarchs who sat upon the throne surrounded with oriental pomp and splendour, were, for the most part, either cruel despots or cowards. The courtiers around them concealed beneath the disguise of the most abject servility a disposition to perpetual intrigue and sanguinary conspiracy.<sup>1</sup> With this state of things among the higher classes, the condition of the enslaved people, at least in the capital, stood in consistent relation. It is significant that the public games were their highest object of interest, and that the same people in whom every political idea was extinguished, could yet bring about a great general insurrection by their party zeal for this or that division of the racers in the Hippodrome. In other respects, oriental luxury and sensuality, and Roman thirst of gain, usurped, between them, all the interests of life. Science had

<sup>1</sup> We refer here to the masterly characteristics of Byzantine manners in Schnaase's ‘Kunstgeschichte,’ vol. iii. p. 93.

degenerated to a system of dry compilation—all literary activity was dead, and all national life unknown. Even Christianity, which, precisely at that time, was laying the foundations for the future unity of Europe among the German races, was to be traced here, in the Empire of the East, only by its perversions. Dogmatical disputes upon the absolutely incomprehensible extended from the clergy, not only to the court and government, which it involved in the fiercest contests, but served also for an object of pastime and dispute to the common people, with whom, even in better times, the passion for argument had become second nature; while, wherever real piety showed herself, she was obstructed by monkish austerity, or cruel intolerance. The most important political event of Byzantine times (next to the wars with the Persians, Saracens, and Hungarians), namely, the controversy about images, is connected with the fanaticism which four centuries of disputes had nourished into full growth. The origin and history of this controversy are well known. The reproach of idol-worship, which Jew and Mahometan had alike cast upon the richly decorated Christian service, and the hope of converting both the Israelite and the infidel, had suggested to the Emperor Leo the Isaurian the idea of doing away with pictures altogether. His coercive measures for this purpose began in the year 730, and a struggle ensued which lasted for above a century—the whole state and all the interests belonging to it, foreign as most of them were to the question, being involved in the dispute. The triumph of the image partisans was first decided by the tumultuous Synod of 842, though even this was little more than a compromise of parties, inasmuch as only the province of painting and that of flat relief were retained, while the long-languishing art of pure sculpture was entirely condemned. No visible disadvantage to the cause of art is traceable, however, to this period of struggle, during which not only profane painting, but religious painting also, thanks to many an obstinate monk, continued to be practised. Still, it may be here and there remarked that the last relics of freedom and nature disappeared from Byzantine works at this time, and that they now first assume that hieratical stiffness of type which seems to bid defiance equally to the heresy which op-

posed them, and to the image-proscribing tenets of Islamism. With this is further connected the fact that at this time (the eighth and ninth centuries) the representation of the Passion of our Lord, and of the Martyrdoms of the Saints, subjects of which art had hitherto been ignorant, first obtained in the Byzantine Schools.<sup>1</sup> It must be borne in mind that artists themselves had fallen martyrs to the cause in the fury of the struggle; and that the Church also now stood firm enough to afford to exhibit the image of the suffering as well as of the triumphant Saviour. Besides this, it was quite consistent with the circumstances of the period that the conquering party should in the eagerness of victory advance a step further than they had done before—the more so as the sensitive feeling of the early times, which had repudiated the representation of whatever was mournful or dreadful, had meanwhile died away. An ecclesiastical decision, ten years prior to the question of images, shows that in respect of the Passion a particular change in religious sentiment had arisen. The Council of Constantinople in the year 692 (generally denominated the Quinisext council) had decided that the direct human representation of the Saviour was to be preferred to the symbolical, namely, to that of the Lamb, hitherto adopted; a decision to which the whole world of art was expected to accommodate itself. This was a formal declaration of the extinction of that allegorical taste which had been proper to the earliest Christian age, and of the transition from the symbolical to the historical, which we have already had occasion to point out in the mosaics of St. Paul at Romè. The speedy introduction of the Crucifixion pictures was a necessary consequence of this, for the redeeming office of the Saviour could now be hardly otherwise expressed. Besides, the Council expressly speaks of “Him who bore the sins of the world,” by which the representation of His Passion, if not positively of His Crucifixion, was indicated. Soon after this, in the year 730, Pope Gregory II., in his letter to

<sup>1</sup> Though, as early as the fourth century, Bishop Asterius, of Amasia, mentions a picture of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia, yet this must be considered as an accidental exception, which in a time, as it were, of artistic fermentation, will not be considered strange. Ecclesiastical art had doubtless nothing to do with it.

Leo the Isaurian, makes mention of the various scenes of the Passion, *παθήματα*, as feasible and praiseworthy subjects for the walls of churches. What still remained wanting to direct the new school was supplied by the already-mentioned modes of thought which the image question had developed.

In order more rightly to estimate the Byzantine style within the limits we have prescribed to ourselves, we must once more give a glance at the events we have been recording. Ancient art, already in the third century deep in decline, then stripped of its old objects and animated with the new spirit which a new religion supplied, had still so much vitality left, from the fourth to the sixth century, as to create new types of art, in which the element of the sublime can be as little denied as in the older Greek forms—utterly inferior as they are in other respects. It was not only during the most wretched period of despotism, but in the midst also of that misery occasioned by the irruption of the northern races, that this new tendency had been developed, and had found in the material of mosaic a brilliant and suitable mode of representation. Replete with quiet dignity, appropriate in action, with a solemn flow of drapery, and gigantic in size, the figures thus expressed look down upon us from their altar tribunes with a fascination, both of an historic and æsthetic nature, which the unprejudiced spectator can hardly resist—a striking proof of the sense of power in the Church of the time. Nevertheless, at the same period, the art of dramatic historical painting, even the very power of depicting the movements of life, had sunk into utter oblivion—showing that the study of nature had ceased, as in every epoch of decline, to be regarded either as the source or auxiliary of artistic inspiration. It is curious to remark how one portion of the figure after the other now becomes rigid—the joints, the extremities, and at last even the countenance, which assumes a morose stricken expression. The step is, as it were, arrested, the garments are loaded with inexpressive folds, the art of decoration degenerates even in the midst of apparently the greatest wealth of ornament, and the gold ground, which we have seen in the Ravenna mosaics of the sixth century supplanting the blue, now extinguishes all the finer sense of colour, and substitutes for it a false gaudiness.

It was the Byzantine school which first brought art to this state of corruption, and then, accompanied as it was by a highly developed but merely technical skill, kept her stationary there for many a long century.<sup>1</sup>

From the totally superficial and defective representation of the human form observable in these works, it is evident that the Byzantine artist now rested satisfied with a mere conventional type, from which all semblance of reality was banished. The figures are long and meagre, the action stiff and angular, hands and feet attenuated and powerless. At the same time a singular pretension to correctness of anatomy forms a more odious contrast to the departure from nature in all other respects. Figures, in which no one limb is rightly disposed, have still, as far as the form is seen, the full complement of ribs in the body, and a most unnecessary display of muscle in the arms. How utterly all power had departed from this school is shown by the most abject restriction to quietness of attitude; and where the slightest action is attempted, be it only a single step, the figure appears to be stumbling on level ground. Sometimes the earth beneath their feet is entirely omitted, so that the figures are relieved upon their gold ground as if in the air, unless the painter have added a little footstool or pedestal. In many cases, instead of a living form we seem to have half-animated corpses before us, an impression which the sight of the head only increases. Here we see at the first glance that a new relation has arisen between the painter and his picture. In the late Roman works which we have hitherto been considering, however closely the conventional type of the Church might confine the painter, still his efforts to express the elevated, and even the beautiful, bespeak a certain freedom of action; so that here the very object of art was changed in character. The Byzantine artist was generally a

<sup>1</sup> We allude here, and in the following pages, only to the original works of the Byzantine school, not to the copies of older and better works which are occasionally mistaken for them. For instance, we must warn our readers of plate 62 of D'Agincourt's *Histoire d'Art*, where a Vatican Bible manuscript of the fourteenth century is given as a proof of the "apparent resuscitation" of the Byzantine art of that period; whereas the first glance suffices to show that this is only the copy of an excellent early work but little inferior to the Joshua we have described.

monk,<sup>1</sup> and as such opposed to the usual enjoyments of life. His art partakes of the same feeling, inasmuch as he substitutes that which had become his individual ideal for that which is universal in human nature. Hence the dryness and meagreness of his figures, and, still more so, the gloomy moroseness of his countenances. The large, ill-shaped eyes stare straight forward; a deep, unhappy line, in which ill-humour seems to have taken up its permanent abode, extends from brow to brow, beneath the bald and heavily wrinkled forehead. The nose has the broad ridge of the antique still left above, but is narrow and thin below, the anxious nostrils corresponding with the deep lines on each side of them. The mouth is small and neatly formed, but the somewhat protruded lower lip is in character with the melancholy of the whole picture. As long as such representations refer only to greyheaded saints and ecclesiastics, they may be tolerated, that is, when the countenance does not become absolutely heartless and malicious; but when the introduction of a kind of smirk is intended to convey the idea of a youthful countenance, the only difference being a somewhat less elongated face, with the omission of a few wrinkles, and the shortening of beard and moustache, this type becomes intolerable. Even the Madonna, to whose countenance the meagreness of asceticism was hardly applicable, here assumes a thoroughly peevish expression, and was certainly never represented under so unattractive an aspect. Altogether these heads leave us totally unmoved: not only because, with all their deeply wrinkled gravity, they appear utterly incapable of any exertion of moral will, or energy of love or hatred, but equally of any depth of thought. Draperies and figures agree perfectly together; nevertheless, in the form of the person and in the chief lines of the dress, a spark of antique feeling is still discernible. The artistic arrangement of drapery which was common towards the end of the sixth century seems from that time to have been arrested as it was. But though the Byzantine artist never bestowed a thought in the execution of

<sup>1</sup> Whether the Emperor Porphyrogenitus (tenth century) pursued the art of painting for pastime, or for an exercise of devotion, is uncertain. See Luitprand, 'Antapod.,' iii. 37.



these portions, or rather was incapable of approaching the slightest reality of form, yet, as, according to the fashion of the time, the masses had to be filled up with an accumulation of detail, so there arose the absurdest complication of breaks, and bends, and parallel folds, all executed with the greatest neatness, and brought out with the utmost heightening of gold. Where the subject, however, admitted of no traditional arrangement of drapery, as for instance in the richly embroidered and jewel-studded costume of Byzantine fashion, all attempt at any artistic form ceases, and the garment, with all its gorgeous ornament, lies flat and without a fold, as if glued upon a wooden figure.<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to remind the reader that these defects did not suddenly arise, but crept gradually in. In the eleventh century they were at their height, and, in the stiff conventionalities of later works, we are often reminded of Chinese art. In point of fact, Chinese art stands in a similar relation to the old Indian as the Byzantine to the Roman, only that Chinese painting (naïve as it occasionally was) found its climax in a kind of grimacing activity, and the Byzantine in an unhappy-looking immobility. The forms of the latter do not appear to be impeded, as among a primitive people, by want of skill, but by the innate slavishness and timidity of the artist, who set himself to animate a lifeless corpse, and then was afraid of the ghost he had raised.

Under such a complication of adverse circumstances we have no right to look for any independence of composition; and whenever we are surprised, as, for instance, in the mosaics, with ingenious and symmetrical arrangements, and, as in miniatures, with fine and animated composition, and with the antique personification of scenery and abstract objects, we may safely give all the praise to a foregone period. An art which no longer created a single animated figure, but was content to borrow a wretchedly disfigured antique motive at tenth hand; that had so accustomed itself to a deathlike stillness of form

<sup>1</sup> See D'Agincourt's very instructive miniature of the twelfth century, plate 58, where the Emperor Alexius Comnenus is attired in just such a formless and smoothly spread dress, is standing before the representation of the triumphant Saviour, whose drapery is treated after the antique, and is doubtless imitated from some older work.

that it dared not even attempt the variety of a profile, was ill adapted to venture on new ground. Where this was indispensable, as, for instance, in the martyr subjects, which are not found in any older works, the thorough powerlessness of the art is shown. The ceremonial and procession subjects, consisting of mere stationary figures, were an easy task: for example, the representation of eight persons, all with a repetition of the same attitude, lying in the dust before an emperor; or a synod, showing the patriarchs seated with the emperor in a circle, surrounded by numerous ecclesiastics, while a vanquished heretic lies prostrate on the floor. But this is not the realization of historical painting, and even in the newly introduced subjects of martyrdom and crucifixion a regular decline of art is obvious, which, in the person of the Saviour, may be said to be symbolically expressed. The first known Byzantine representation of the subject (ninth century) depicts him in an upright position, and with outstretched arms, triumphant even in death. The later ones show him with closed eyes and sunken form, as if the relaxed limbs had no longer the power to sustain the body, which is hanging swayed towards the right side.

But in this degenerate art older as well as newer subjects were condemned to endless repetition. In a closer examination of Byzantine works in the mass, we arrive at the strange fact that the old types were not only, as in antique art, and in the art of the western middle ages, reproduced in fresh forms, but that one painter absolutely copied from another, and that in the most slavish manner; and that exactly the same forms, position, action, and expression, in exactly the same arrangement, recur for instance in the mosaics of St. Mark at Venice, in the Constantinopolitan miniatures, and in the frescoes of Greek monasteries; thus showing, beyond all question, the worn-out state of the ground we are treading. Not that the blame rests solely with the artists; the Church, inasmuch as she openly assumed the direction and control of art, necessitated such a state of things. In one of the arguments adduced by an advocate for images in the second Nicene Council,<sup>1</sup> A.D. 787,

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the Acts of this Council (*Conciliorum collectio regia maxima*, Paris 1714, vol. iv. col. 380), which also contain many interesting facts connected with the history of art.

it is clearly said, "it is not the invention (*ἐφεύρεσις*) of the painter which creates the picture, but an inviolable law, a tradition (*θεσμοθεσία καὶ παράδοσις*) of the Catholic Church. It is not the painters but the holy fathers who have to invent and to dictate. To them manifestly belongs the composition (*διάταξις*), to the painter only the execution (*τέχνη*)."<sup>1</sup> If, therefore, the Church had once decided upon the most fitting representation of any sacred subject, there existed no grounds for ever departing from it; and we shall see, in point of fact, that the Greek painters to this day scrupulously submit themselves to this principle; only it must be remembered that no church would have ventured to dictate to a really living art, and that the deadness of the Byzantine school was as much the cause as the effect of such ecclesiastical interference. The system of copying had begun long before the Church interposed its laws. Fortunately for art, the holy fathers did not, after 787, altogether prescribe any new mode of representation, but permitted the copying of those older compositions which had been sanctified by custom. Thus frequently it happened that excellent inventions of the Constantinian, Theodosian, and Justinian times, have been preserved, and that of course with more or less truth and beauty, according to the proximity in which the copyist stood to the original; copies at fifth and sixth hand being only true to the original in general arrangement, and in detail strictly Byzantine. Even when the artist has to compose afresh he always adheres, in the single figures, to these perpetually recurring types, so that only the arrangement, and here and there the attitude (the latter often wretched enough), are altered. Byzantine art, in short, had degenerated into a mere luxuriously conducted handicraft, and precisely on that account did it admit of that incredible ease of imitation with which we shall become better acquainted in its later stages. It was altogether a superficial mechanical art, the subjects for which had, once for all, been definitely fixed; and ultimately, as we shall see, the capacity of the artist was only regulated by the number and quality of tracings which he had been able to procure from the works of his predecessors.

This handicraft continued to be pursued with care and industry till into the thirteenth century. We do this art no

injustice in regarding, for instance, the treatment of colour it displays—which, considering the circumstances, was excellent—also as a mechanical merit; for as far as imitation of nature is concerned there is as little reality intended in colouring as in drawing, and the highest possible value that can be assigned to it is of a decorative kind. In respect of colouring also, as well as of drawing, we must take care not to confound the copy with the original: for instance, not to extol the colouring of some excellent miniatures of the time of the Macedonian emperors as that of the Byzantine school, inasmuch as the better part of that quality, as well as of the drawing and invention, belongs to the best late Roman time. Not but what the feeling for colour, generally speaking, was longer preserved than that of drawing, and, especially in the mode of applying the pigments, there is a skill and precision observable, which, considering the otherwise absolute deadness of the art, is marvellous. Even the colouring materials in the miniatures appear to be selected and applied with chemical knowledge. Over the outline which the pencil had traced a lively unbroken colour was usually laid, and then lights, shadows, and folds inserted, with darker and lighter tints, and at last, generally, with delicate hatchings. It is significant of the totally un-plastic feeling of that time that the gradations were produced by mere strokes, without any breadth of shadow. The effect, however, is always particularly neat. A decided mannerism is earliest traceable in the treatment of the flesh tones, which are at first of an orange colour, and then of a dark brick-red; and finally, with their well-known green shadows and rosy lights, remind us of rouged, but already half-decomposed bodies. Thus, in proportion as the antique models receded from view, the colouring became cruder and more motley, and the outlines more apparent, while, after the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, A.D. 1204, by which the wealth and luxury of this city was greatly undermined, there seemed a totally careless sketchiness of treatment. Long before that also an unfortunate vehicle of a gummy description seems to have come into use, which soon dulled the colours. The backgrounds, the nimbuses, and, after the eleventh century, the high lights also, consist generally of gold, which is laid

on solidly and unsparingly. And, as if the precious metal could not be sufficiently brought into requisition, the garments of imperial or holy personages are often entirely of gold materials, with splendid embroideries. That use of gold which might be supposed to be applicable to the subject itself, as in the representation of the glory of Heaven, is not to be taken into account here, for in Byzantine art a gold ground was used for every possible occasion. For, as we have said before, it is the nature of a sunken art to endeavour to make amends for its incapacity for all original composition by the splendour of its materials.<sup>1</sup> The haggard, morose figures, with their brick-red or olive-coloured flesh tones, look, as may be supposed, only the more wretched on this account. A trace of remaining vigour, perhaps the only change which deserves the name of an improvement, was developed in the department of decoration. To this period we are indebted for the most splendid arabesques of mixed foliage and animals; rich, architectural fancies in margins for manuscripts or pictures, and such-like; almost all executed with the utmost care and neatness. At the same time the more natural, and therefore the more consistent, antique mode of decoration is here lost in a certain calligraphic conventionality, which, however, does not exclude a perfectly intelligent mode of treatment. In this respect Byzantium served as a model to the image-hating Saracen art, and probably received many an impulse from her in return.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the only earlier Byzantine painting of a monumental kind, namely, mosaic work, but few specimens have been preserved in the East, and of these we have no illustrations to refer to, and only very defective notices. There is,

<sup>1</sup> The excessive luxury in other respects, in churches and palaces, with which this school of painting was associated, may be gathered from Hurter's 'Geschichte Innocenz III.,' vol. i., under the title '*ein Gang durch Constantinopel*.'

<sup>2</sup> The Saracens also borrowed from Byzantium the materials of mosaic work, the Arabic name of which, *faefysa*, is evidently from the Greek *φωφωρις*. When, at the commencement of the eighth century, peace was concluded between Byzantium and the Caliph Walid, this latter potentate stipulated for a certain quantity of *faefysa* for the decoration of the new mosque at Damascus. In the middle of the tenth century, also, the Emperor Romanus II. sent the Caliph Abderrhaman III. the materials for the mosaics of the Kibla in the mosque at Cordova.

however, reason to conclude that the splendour of the Justinian time was often equalled, if not surpassed. The palatial edifices of the Emperor Theophilus (829-842) sparkled with the richest ornaments. Cinnamus also informs us that, even three centuries later, the palace-walls of the richer courtiers were decorated with the deeds of ancient heroes, also with battle and hunting subjects, in which the valour of the reigning monarch in conflict with enemies or wild beasts was made duly prominent; though one high functionary, by way of exception, ventured in this manner to commemorate the victories of his country's arch foe, the Sultan of Iconium. These mosaics having all disappeared, we are, meanwhile, virtually reduced to the Italian mosaics of the seventh century, which are by no means to be ranked as thorough specimens of the Byzantine style; we are, therefore, left to decide here and there upon the degree of Byzantine influence very much according to our own judgment. Whether and how far the prevailing modes of thought in Italy were favourable to its intrusion, are questions which must be left to their own merits. The common fundamental features of these works can but be estimated by the chronological analysis we have already pursued.

Standing upon the boundary-line between the earlier and later styles, we may now mention some mosaics in Rome of the seventh century, in which, although we are made aware of the existence of a novel element, no distinction can well be drawn between the decline of the former and the rise of the latter. The most considerable specimens are the mosaics in the tribune of S. Agnese, fuori le mura, A.D. 625-638. In the subject itself, connected as it is with the gradual alterations in the Church service, we find a significant deviation from the general rule. Instead of the Christ in the act of benediction, appears the figure of S. Agnese standing between the Popes Symmachus and Honorius I., the restorers of the Church, and the indication of the Godhead is confined to a hand protruding from the heavens and placing a crown upon the head of the saint. The execution, in contradistinction to the usual neatness of the Byzantine school, is here, as in most of the later Roman mosaics, rude and even poor; a circumstance which is not to be wondered at, for Rome stood to Byzantium in the relation

of a provincial town, and had much fallen in the world even in the external means of art. The middle tones are at last entirely omitted (in the draperies they appear to have been later inserted), the vitrified cubes are larger and no longer fit in closely together. More significant still than this rudeness of outward material is the want of intrinsic feeling which is evident in the three figures with their straight folds, only represented by dark stripes, their stiff, deathlike attitudes, and the staring Byzantine pomp of the saint's garments. The already highly conventional heads consist only of a few strokes; the red cheeks of S. Agnese are mere heavy blotches; the floor it is true has not quite vanished from under the feet of the figures, but it is reduced to the smallest indication. The ground, as in almost all succeeding mosaics, is of gold. Still plainer indications of the Byzantine style are seen in the very extensive mosaics in the Oratorio di S. Venanzio, a side chapel of the Baptistery to the Lateran, A.D. 640-642. In the altar apsis, between eight saints, appears the Madonna standing with outstretched arms in the act of benediction. Above are half-length figures of Christ and two angels rising out of gaudy clouds. On the walls, on each side of the apsis, are four saints, and above, between the three windows, the signs of the Evangelists and of the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Christ and the angels are painted rudely, but still with dignity and freedom, and remind us, in their tolerably flowing forms, of the period of the 6th century. On the other hand, the sixteen saints, all standing motionless one beside another, as well as the Madonna (who appears for the first time thus positively as their centre), are totally Byzantine. In their garments also the folds and shadows are indicated by a mere stripe of dark conventional colour, and even in the chief motives there is a want of intelligence of which the foregoing century affords no example. Similar in style, and almost contemporary in date (A.D. 642-649), are the mosaics of the small altar apsis of S. Stefano rotondo, upon the Cœlian Hill, in which a brilliantly decorated cross is represented between the two standing figures of SS. Primus and Felicianus. On the upper end of the cross (very tastefully introduced) appears a small head of Christ with a nimbus, over which the hand of the Father is extended in

benediction. A single figure in mosaic exists as an altar-piece in S. Pietro in Vincoli. It is intended for St. Sebastian, and was removed to the church by Pope Agathon, on occasion of the plague in 680, and doubtless executed soon after this date. As a solitary specimen of this kind it is very remarkable. There is no analogy between this figure and the usual youthful type of St. Sebastian which was subsequently adopted. On the contrary, the saint is represented here as an old man with white hair and beard, carrying the crown of martyrdom in his hand, and draped from head to foot in true Byzantine style. In his countenance there is still some life and dignity. The more careful shadowing also of the drapery shows that, in a work intended to be so much exposed to the gaze of the pious, more pains was bestowed than usual; nevertheless the figure, upon the whole, is very inanimate: the ground is blue. In the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro the semi-dome of the tribune is now occupied by a fresco, probably the copy of a mosaic, and, as probably, the copy of the very one which was placed in this church at the time of its erection, A.D. 682. The Saviour (copied from the splendid figure in the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano) is standing upon the globe of the world, between the Virgin and St. Peter, St. George and St. Sebastian. The subordinate position of the Virgin here compels us to assign to this work an original of the earliest date, for even at this time (682), and much more so later, the Virgin with the infant Saviour on her knees assumes the central place.

To this period (probably from 671 to 677) belong the last mosaic decorations of importance at Ravenna, viz. those in the splendid basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe; which, now that the history of art has sustained an irreparable injury in the destruction of St. Paul's at Rome, by fire, alone give us any idea of the manner in which whole rows of pictures and symbols in mosaic were employed to ornament the interior of churches. In the spandrels, between the arches of the centre aisle, we observe an almost perfect collection of those earliest symbols of Christian art, from the simple monogram to the Good Shepherd and the Fisherman, which we described at the beginning of this work, while above the arch in a row of medallions are



the portraits of the Archbishops of Ravenna;<sup>1</sup> of course not the original works—which, owing to the destruction of the surface of these walls by that enemy to art Sigismund Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, were entirely lost—but apparently correct copies. The heads here, as formerly in the pictures of the Popes in St. Paul's, are given full in front, the profile being totally unknown to that art. The mosaics, however, in and above the apsis, are old and genuine—remarkable relics of that time when the church of Ravenna, in league with Byzantium, once more declared itself upon an equality with the Roman Church, and sought by paying honour to its own patron saint, St. Apollinaris (the scholar of St. Peter), to place him upon a level with that apostle. The order and arrangement of these mosaics declare this intention in the clearest way. They exemplify, namely, the glorification of the Church of Ravenna. In the semi-dome of the apsis, upon a gold ground, with light pink and light blue clouds, appears a blue circle studded with gold stars and set in jewels, and, within this, a splendidly decorated cross with a half-length figure of Christ in the centre. On each side of the circle are the half-length figures of Moses and Elijah emerging from the clouds, both, on account of their transfiguration, very youthfully depicted. Far below, upon a meadow with trees, in the centre of the whole, stands St. Apollinaris, his arms raised in benediction, surrounded by fifteen sheep. On the lower walls appear four Ravenna bishops, on a blue ground, under canopies with draperies and chandeliers, and on each side are two larger pictures of the sacrifices of Abel, Melchisedeck, and Abraham, and, but little in character with the foregoing, the Granting of the Privileges to the Church of Ravenna. In all these works the drawing is in every way inferior to those of the sixth century; the execution, however, very careful, with more middle tones than usual; the four bishops excepted, who are rudely and sketchily treated, and are only distinguished by more powerful and less conventional heads. These mosaics, though doubtless executed within the shadow of the exarchal residence, are less

<sup>1</sup> In the Western Church also there existed a similar work. The cathedral of Nice displayed the portraits of the 318 bishops who presided at the council there.

entitled to the term "Byzantine" than the Roman works we have just described, inasmuch as the figures only partake in the slightest degree of that stiff lifelessness which characterises the saints in S. Venanzio and others. The draperies, also, in spite of a frequent want of meaning in the arrangement, have greater dignity and beauty of fold. On the other hand, a sensible decline in the feeling for nature is here observable, on comparing the long-legged ugly sheep surrounding St. Apollinaris, with those in the church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, or the totally conventional-shaped trees with that before Abraham's hut in S. Vitale. Nevertheless, the influence of Byzantium may be considered to have been here restricted to the arrangement alone; especially as we find a mere saint occupying the central place which had hitherto been assigned to Christ, while the presence of the Saviour is only, as in S. Stefano Rotondo, indicated by the cross. The two side pictures of the lower wall merit also a closer examination, especially the three sacrifices, which are here combined in one really spirited composition, and in point of execution are decidedly the best.<sup>1</sup> Beneath an open curtain, behind a covered table, sits the venerable white-haired Melchisedeck, in diadem and crimson mantle, in act of breaking the bread. On the left Abel is seen advancing, in figure of a half-naked youth in linen chlamys, carrying a lamb. On the right, Abraham, an old man in white robe, is leading his son, who is not represented naked (as in S. Vitale), but wears a yellow robe. The corresponding picture, the Granting of the Privileges, is slighter, and inferior in drawing and execution, so that, for example, the outlines of the heads are rudely conspicuous. Three imperial youths, with nimbuses, are advancing from a curtained door of the palace—Constantine, who is clad in the crimson mantle, Heraclius, and Tiberius.<sup>2</sup> On the right,

<sup>1</sup> If we consider how habitual the practice of copying had become in the late Roman time, we shall hesitate perhaps to assign the invention of this work to 671-677. The figure of Abel is, at all events, a direct imitation of that in S. Vitale. Too many churches, however, with their respective mosaics, have disappeared in Ravenna (the cathedral, the principal church of the suburb Classis, &c.), to say nothing of those in Byzantium itself, to justify us, without the strongest external proofs, in pointing out decided originals in those which still exist.

<sup>2</sup> The difficult question as to which of the emperors is meant by this name

quietly looking on, stands the Archbishop of Ravenna, surrounded by four ecclesiastics, one of whom is receiving from Constantine a scroll with a red inscription, *Privilegia*. Here an obvious Byzantine stiffness is apparent, as compared with the two ceremonial pictures in S. Vitale. Upon the wall above the tribune, upon a strip of blue ground, may be seen, glimmering through the dust of a thousand years, a half-length of Christ with the signs of the Evangelists. These are succeeded by the twelve sheep, which are advancing up both sides of the arch of the tribune; two palm-trees are placed lower down. Neither animals nor trees are superior to those within the tribune. On the other hand, in the figures of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, which are introduced lower down at the side of the tribune, we find traces of a good-antique taste. Each is holding in his right hand the flag of victory (the *Labarum*), while the left so grasps the crimson mantle, which is faced with embroidered cloth of gold, that a part of the white tunic is visible. The heads are of youthful beauty.

In respect, however, both of building and painting, Ravenna, after the fall of the Ostrogoths, had greatly declined. A provincial city of the Eastern Empire had, under any circumstances, no very brilliant history in those times. In addition to this, the perpetual attacks of the Longobards had robbed the Exarchate of successive portions of territory, till in the year 782 the splendid suburb Classis was conquered and laid waste. Earthquakes also did their part to destroy what other evils spared, and, at the present day, with the exception of the fine and solitary Apollinaris church, on the border of the celebrated pine wood, every trace of Classis has disappeared. Finally, after the Franks had snatched the Exarchate from the hand of the Longobards and made it over to the papal chair, art, in Ravenna, confined itself to a few solitary decorations and to repairs, and to this latter circumstance solely is this little out-of-the-way papal country town indebted for the preservation of some early middle-age treasures of art such as the whole world cannot furnish elsewhere.

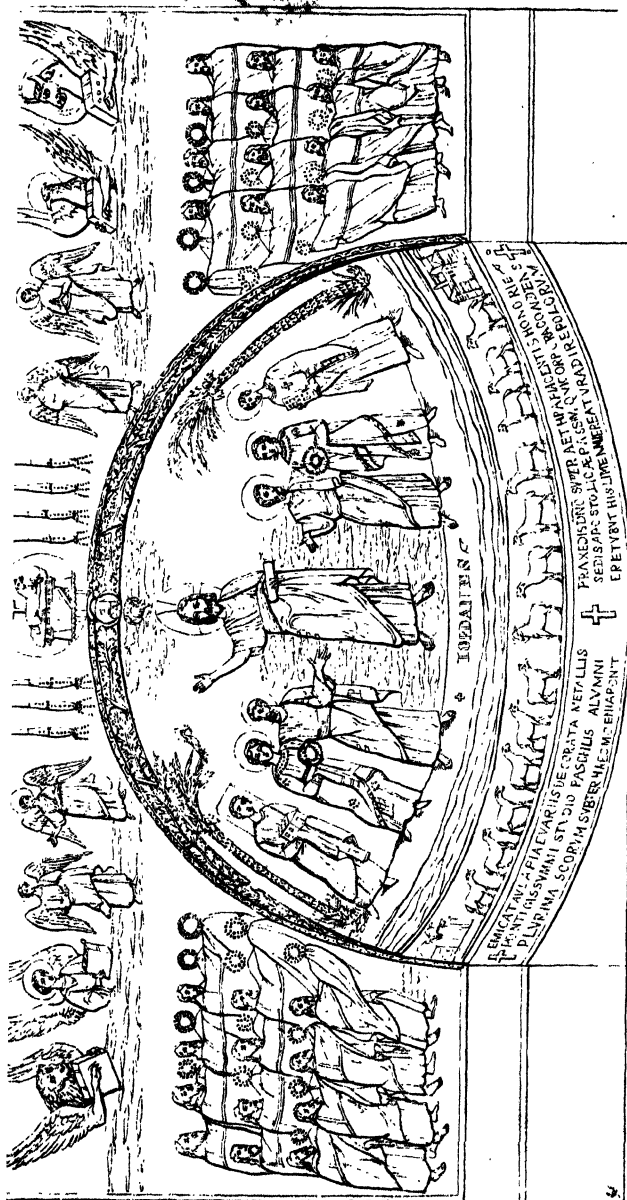
is not ours to solve. In all probability the three figures are intended for Constantine Pogonatus, Tiberius II., and the well-known Emperor Heraclius.

How far the wars and disastrous events of the eighth century had any influence upon art at Rome, it is difficult to decide, since, of the numerous treasures that are recorded by different writers, scarcely anything has survived. The only specimen is a little fragment belonging to the old St. Peter's church, A.D. 705, now in the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin—an adoration of the three Kings—which, though of a barbaric negligence in execution, displays a good antique feeling for composition. The figures which have been preserved, Joseph, the Virgin and Child, and an angel, form an easy group. As regards Pope Constantine (A.D. 708-715), we are informed by Paulus Diaconus (vi. 34) that he caused the six orthodox councils to be painted in the vestibule of St. Peter's (whether in mosaic is not said), and further, that this was done out of spite against the monothelite Emperor Philipicus Bardanes, who had caused a similar row of council pictures to be destroyed in Constantinople. Also in the pontificates of Gregory III., Zacharias, and Adrian I., the mosaic decorations of many churches were devised. In the struggle with the Iconoclasts, Rome had zealously espoused the picture cause. "The sacred pictures," thus wrote Gregory II. to the Emperor Leo at the commencement of the dispute, "elevate the feelings of men. Fathers and mothers lift up their children to view them. Youths and foreigners point with edification to the painted histories. All hearts raise themselves to God." And when, in Byzantium, ecclesiastical art was attacked by the sword, the monasteries of Rome granted an asylum to whole bands of Byzantine painters. Nevertheless, scarcely any influence from this circumstance is to be perceived—we find, as already said, in the still existing Roman mosaics, an interval of almost a century, and resume them only after the pacification of the country under Pope Leo III. (A.D. 795-816). This pontificate, so important also in other respects, is distinguished by numerous church repairs and new erections, on which occasion the application of mosaics is frequently mentioned.

Unfortunately the apsis mosaic of the Leonine Triclinium in the Lateran, so important as being the last relic of the great historical subjects in this building, has suffered so severely in

the attempt made in the last century to transfer it to the outer walls of the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, that we must content ourselves with a copy in mosaic, which, with the exception of a few somewhat modernised heads, almost replaces the ancient original. Within the tribune, upon a gold ground, stands the Saviour in act of benediction, the eleven apostles in white robes around him; the four rivers of Paradise gushing forth at his feet. The figures, in their stiff, yet infirm attitudes, and still more in the unmeaning disposition of the drapery, display a decided Byzantine influence. Here we first perceive a totally conventional distribution of the masses of the drapery, which, though loaded with meaningless folds (namely with bluish strokes of colour), only adheres to the shape of the figure. On the walls next the tribune we find those celebrated pictures of deep political and ecclesiastical significance, which are of immeasurably higher historical value than the ceremonial pictures of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople. On the left appears the Saviour enthroned, with the kneeling figure of St. Sylvester before him, to whom he is giving the keys, while he extends a banner to Constantine the Great. On the right is St. Peter, enthroned, in the act of bestowing the stola upon Pope Leo III., and a banner upon Charlemagne, in sign of investiture. In both the last-named kneeling figures, who are represented in profile, a species of likeness is aimed at, only that Charlemagne has been caricatured in the attempt. Of the same period is the altar apsis in the church of SS. Nereo e Achilleo, underneath the baths of Caracalla. The figures are small, and have been greatly restored, but are still remarkable in intention. In all mosaics of later date than those containing the history of Christ upon the arch of Triumph in S. Maria Maggiore, we have observed that same arch decorated, almost without exception, with apocalyptic subjects, and with the symbols of the Evangelists. Here, however, the decoration of this portion is again of an historical nature. The transfigured Saviour is in the centre between Moses and Elijah, with St. Nereus and St. Achilles kneeling on either side; further on the left the Annunciation, and on the right the Virgin and Child, accompanied by an angel. The pontificate of Paschal I., which succeeded that of Leo III. (A.D. 817-824),





Mosaic of the 9th century in S. Frassato, at Rome

though short in time, was rich in mosaic works, owing doubtless to the free exercise of art which the maintenance of peace permitted. For any positive advance these were not the times; and equally as we trace in the apparently flourishing school of Carolingian art only the tardy echo of the antique, so do we perceive in the Roman works of this period only a deeper decline into Byzantine deformity. Whether there then existed in Rome a branch school of mosaic-workers from Constantinople, and how far this was again acted upon from the parent nursery, we do not presume to decide. The most splendid and extensive works of that pontificate were doubtless the mosaics in S. Prassede on the Esquiline Hill. At all events more have been preserved in this church than in any other; viz. those on the arch of Triumph, on the arch of the tribune, within the tribune itself, and the entire decorations of the chapel of one side aisle. The subjects on the arches are, as usual, taken from the Revelations. Over the arch of Triumph, in the centre of a walled space, with gates representing the heavenly Jerusalem, is the Saviour between two angels, holding a globe in his hand, while on each side of him are a row of saints offering him their triumphal crowns. Four angels are standing at the gates, inviting the concourse of the faithful to enter, who are represented advancing in solemn procession below, clad in white robes, and with palm-branches in their hands. Upon the arch of the tribune is the customary representation of the Lamb upon a seat decorated with jewels, surrounded with the seven candlesticks, four angels, and the symbols of the Evangelists. On each side of the arch are the four-and-twenty elders, advancing to cast their crowns before the Lamb. In the semi-dome (copied from SS. Cosmo e Damiano) Christ occupies the centre—above him the hand of the Father holding a wreath—on either side St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Praxedis and St. Pudentiana, St. Zeno, and Pope Paschal, the founder, carrying the model of a church; last of all two palm-trees, one of them with the same phoenix as in the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano. Further below, the thirteen lambs as usual. The church not being large for such an amount of subjects, the figures are on a small scale; and, owing to the already increasing rudeness of execution, have a somewhat barbaric effect. The folds of the dra-



peries are only dark strokes—the faces consist chiefly of three coarse lines.<sup>1</sup> Altogether we perceive that the Byzantine art of that time relied upon the multitude of its figures for effect, and more and more avoided those single colossal forms which it was neither able to animate with feeling, nor to fill up with truth of detail. Not that anything was gained by the multiplicity of these little stiff parallel-placed figures; on the contrary, they give us only the impression of disjointed atoms. As for the contemporary mosaics in the side chapel, they may be considered as completely barbaric, though, from their splendour, they originally obtained the name of the “Garden of Paradise.” The door is framed in a double row of medallion-portraits in mosaics, which are merely rude caricatures. Within, the walls are covered with saints and various symbols, without any particular connexion as regards their intention. The only remarkable portion is the Lamb with four stags, with four half-length figures below to correspond. Upon the groined roof is a half-length figure of Christ, borne by four angels, who, in the poverty of the artist’s invention, are divided in two by the groining of the arches. Of the same period are the mosaics of the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, which, in rudeness and multiplicity of figures, correspond pretty much with those we have just described. Within the tribune is seen the Saviour again, with five saints, Pope Paschal, and the two palm-trees; this time upon a blue ground with small clouds. The thirteen lambs which, usually in the form of a frieze decoration, connect the semicircular lower wall of the tribune with the semi-dome above in an agreeable manner, are all included on the dome itself, forming a border in no very good taste. On the walls of the tribune, till within the last century or so, might be seen the Virgin and Child enthroned between two angels and eleven martyrs who are advancing from the two cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem; and, further below, the four-and-twenty elders in their accustomed attitudes. But the entablature of the vestibule has still its old decoration of beautiful gold ornaments on a blue ground, and

<sup>1</sup> See Rumohr’s ‘*Ital. Forschungen*,’ vol. i. p. 239, where the style of these Roman mosaics of the ninth century is for the first time investigated with some precision.

blue ornaments upon a gold ground alternately, intersected with small portrait medallions—showing that the decorative parts of an art will long survive the decline of all the rest. Similar in style to the mosaics in St. Cecilia are those in and above the tribune of S. Maria della Navicella (also called in *Dominica*) upon the Cœlian Hill. Within the tribune appear the Virgin and Child seated on a throne, with angels ranged in regular rows on each side; and, at her feet, with unspeakable stiffness of limb, the kneeling figure of Pope Paschal I. Upon the walls of the tribune is the Saviour with a nimbus, surrounded with two angels and the twelve apostles, and further below, on a much larger scale, two prophets, who appear to point towards him. The most remarkable thing here is the rich foliage decoration. Besides the wreaths of flowers (otherwise not a rare feature) which are growing out of two vessels at the edge of the dome, the floor beneath the figures is also decorated with flowers—a graceful species of ornament seldom aimed at in the moroseness of Byzantine art. From this point the decline into utter barbarism is rapid. The mosaics of St. Marco at Rome, executed under Pope Gregory IV. (A.D. 827-844), with all their splendour, exhibit the utmost poverty of expression. Above the tribune, in circular compartments, is the portrait of Christ between the symbols of the Evangelists, and further below St. Peter and St. Paul (or two prophets) with scrolls. Within the tribune, beneath a hand extended with a wreath, is the standing figure of Christ with an open book, and, on either side, five angels and Pope Gregory IV. Further on, but still belonging to the dome, are the thirteen lambs, forming a second and quite uneven circle round the figures. The execution is here especially rude, and of true Byzantine rigidity, while, as if the artist knew that his long lean figures were anything but secure upon their feet, he has given them each a separate little pedestal. The lines of the drapery are chiefly straight and parallel, while, with all this rudeness, a certain play of colour has been contrived by the introduction of high lights of another colour.<sup>1</sup> The greatly

<sup>1</sup> According to Eméric David, page 76, there still exist in the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, near the Lateran, mosaics of the time of Sergius II. (A.D. 844-847). These, however, were inaccessible to us.

restored tribune mosaics of S. Francesca Romana (probably A.D. 858-867, during the pontificate of Nicholas I.) close the group of these Roman-Byzantine works. By this time it had become apparent that such figures as the art of that day was alone able to achieve could have no possible relation to each other, and therefore no longer constitute a composition; the artist accordingly separated the Madonna on the throne, and the four saints with uplifted hands, by graceful arcades. The ground, as in most foregoing mosaics, is gold; the nimbus blue. The faces of course consist only of feeble lines—the cheeks are only red blotches; the folds merely dark strokes; nevertheless, a certain flow and fulness in the forms, and the character of a few accessories (for instance, the exchange of a crown upon the Virgin's head for the invariable Byzantine veil), seem to indicate that we have not so much to do here with the decline of Byzantine art as with a Northern, and probably Frankish, influence. At the same time, if we compare together all authentic works of the time, we cannot assign this mosaic to the thirteenth century. Of the later works of the ninth century nothing more exists at Rome. Those which Pope Formosus contributed to the old church of St. Peter (A.D. 891-896) shared the destruction of that basilica. In Aquileja, according to all accounts, there still exist the mosaics which Gisela, the daughter of Louis the Pious, presented to the church. They contain (what is most remarkable for that time) a crucifixion, the Virgin, St. George, the portrait of Gisela, and various allegorical figures. The Cathedral of Capua also possesses mosaics of that period, presented by Bishop Thego. On the other hand, "the very beautiful figures" with which the Abbots Potto and Gisulf embellished the entire walls of the church of Monte Casino have disappeared.

After the close of the ninth century mosaic art seems to have almost ceased in Italy. For seventy years that unhappy country had been distracted by ceaseless broils, in many instances scarcely less detrimental to its well-being than the inroads of the northern tribes. Rome especially was the sport of the most terrible factions. Peace was restored by force of arms under the Othos; but the deep wounds which all intellectual and artistic enterprise had sustained did not readily

heal again. Wherever, after this, art endeavoured to raise her head, the help of Byzantium was called into requisition. For example, when Abbot Desiderius of Monte Casino (afterwards Pope Victor III.) rebuilt the church of his monastery, he was compelled to hire mosaic-workers from Constantinople, who instructed several pupils in the art.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the republic of Venice, which had grown up under the nominal protection of Byzantium, had, in the general distraction of the country, remained undisturbed. This state became the thriving mart for the empires of the East and West; and even after all political connexion with Byzantium had ceased, the active commerce which was maintained became a constant bond of union. In point of art, however, Venice, up to the thirteenth century, may be considered almost exclusively a Byzantine colony, inasmuch as her painters adhered entirely to Greek models: her architecture partook equally of Oriental and Occidental elements, and only her sculpture retained a positive Western character, because this alone, in the condemnation which Byzantium had passed on all the higher plastic forms of art, could derive no assistance from that city. The Venetian mosaics especially we may regard as an almost sufficient indemnification for those of the Western Empire, which have been lost to posterity, since the characters of undisturbed Byzantine descent are much more legible there than for instance in those Roman works just described. The earliest existing specimens of this kind are the mosaics in the church of St. Cyprian in the insular town of Murano, which were completed in the year 882, representing a Christ with the Virgin between saints and archangels. With incomparably more force, however, is the Byzantine type represented in the church of St. Mark, founded A.D. 976, the earliest wall and cupola pictures of which go back at least to the eleventh, and perhaps even to the tenth century. After the transfer of

<sup>1</sup> We may here mention in addition those mosaics in the choir apsis of St. Ambrose at Milan (Christ between two archangels with SS. Gervasius and Protasius), recently restored, which are supposed to have been executed A.D. 832, by a monk of the name of Gaudentius. The execution seems more careful, and the figures more animated, than in the mosaics of a similar period in Rome.

the body of St. Mark the Evangelist from Alexandria to Venice, the inhabitants of these isles adopted the lion for their symbol, and regarded the sacred remains as the pledge of their prosperity. It behoved them, therefore, to decorate the church honoured as the resting-place of the saint with all the splendour which the wealth of a thriving commercial city could bestow. The gorgeous luxury of the mere materials of the edifice, to supply which the whole empire of the West was ransacked, is well known. The floor, the walls, and the pillars, half way up, were covered with the most costly marbles, while the rest of the interior—upper walls, waggon-roofs, and cupolas, comprising a surface of more than forty thousand square feet—was covered with mosaics on a gold ground; a gigantic work, which even all the wealth of Venice spent six centuries in patching together. Every style of art, therefore, which necessarily flourished during this period, down to the lowest mannerism of the school of Tintoretto, has been perpetuated in this edifice. The general coup d'œil is somewhat dim and heavy. We are reminded that it was the devotion of seafaring men that raised the pile; men who were willing to propitiate the favour of Heaven by the richest offerings they could devise, and indifferent, in their short intervals of rest, to the higher beauties of art, provided the utmost pomp and splendour were but attained. As respects our own researches, however, it is certain that here alone do we obtain any idea of the wealth of mosaics which existed in the State buildings of ancient Constantinople.

In these mosaics of St. Mark it would be difficult to recognise any consistent or sustained idea. And even if any originally existed, the artists of the different epochs, especially since the time of Titian, have not adhered to it. The earliest portions also, connected as certain groups and masses may appear, show no traces of any plan. In the five large semicircular recesses of the front, appears, by way as it were of introduction, the history of the translation of the sacred remains; and in the semicircular terminations of the upper walls, the history of Christ; which subjects, though of modern execution, have taken the place of older works. The atrium, which surrounds the edifice on three sides, contains, as we often

observe in the porches of Gothic churches, the history of the old covenant from the Creation to the time of Moses (excellent works of the thirteenth century, which we shall consider further) ; and then in a portion of the atrium which has been converted into a chapel and baptistery, the history of St. Mark, and a multitude of symbolical subjects, full of meaning, referring to the mystery of baptism. The interior of the edifice forms, as is well known, the figure of a cross, with five cupolas, each of which rests on four wide massive arches ; every two of them constituting a sort of side aisle. Rows of pillars with false galleries half way up the church, divide these from the principal cruciform space. The descriptive plan in the following page, which, in the multiplicity of forms, can only embrace the principal features, will suffice to show how little the opportunity of following up the artistic development of a theological design was taken advantage of.

Any sequence of ideas in these representations can only be suggested by the spectator himself. In commencing with Paradise—the Apocalypse—and the Feast of Pentecost, and terminating with the Holy of Holies, Christ and the Prophets, an exception has been made, not only to the now generally accepted order of ecclesiastical decoration, but to all the more important examples of this kind of the later mediæval times. It is only in the history of Christ that we find some consistency, though accompanied with numerous repetitions, and executed without any strict reference to the principal events. In the innumerable single figures of saints we see the commencement of that remarkable order of precedence which later Byzantine art assigned to them—holy deacons, hermits, and column saints of all kinds being placed here according to their rank. After all, the highest value of these works is of an archæo-liturgical description. Here we find, for example, that remarkable Ascension where the Saviour is represented mounting above the riven gates of Hades, with the banner of victory in one hand, and drawing Adam upwards with the other ; while on each side the apostles are lifting up their hands in prayer. Here alone do we see the guests of the Feast of Pentecost, each two and two, in their respective costumes—the Jews in pointed hat ; the Parthians with bow

<p>W.R. and W.<sup>2</sup> Miracles and Acts of Christ ending with the Last Supper.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> Angels and Saints.</p>	<p><i>In the Tribune.</i> A colossal Christ, with four Saints below.</p> <p><i>Eastern Cupola.</i> Christ, the Virgin, So- lomon, and eleven Prophets. In the Pendentives the symbols of the Evangelists.</p> <p>W.R. History of Christ to the Transfigura- tion.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> Ornaments and Saints.</p>	<p>W.R. Scenes from the Acts of the Apostles; Saints, and the Sacri- fices of Cain and Abel.</p> <p>W.R. Miracles of Christ. W. Miracles of a Saint.</p>
<p>W.R. Miracles of Christ. W. Genealogy of Christ. Beneath this the Chapel of S. Isidoro, with his acts.</p>	<p><i>Left Cupola.</i> A Cross, sur- rounded with the Miracles of the Apos- tles. Penden- tives, the four Doctors of the Church.</p> <p>W.R. Miracles of Christ and Last Supper.</p>	<p><i>Centre Cupola.</i> Christ with four Arch- angels, the Madouna and the Apostles around, then the Christian Virtues. In the Pendentives the Evangelists and the rivers of Para- dise.</p>	<p>W.R. Temptation of Christ, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, and Washing the Feet of his Disciples.</p>	<p><i>Right Cupola.</i> Four Saints. Pendentives, four Saints.</p> <p>W.R. Miracles of Christ.</p>
<p>W.R. Life of the Virgin. W. History of the Youth of Christ, and histories of Daniel and Su- sanna.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> The Evange- lists and Saints.</p>	<p>W.R. The scenes of the Passion, with the Resur- rection.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> Christ, the Virgin, and Saints.</p>	<p>W.R. Biblical scenes. W. Translation of the body of St. Mark.</p>
<p>W.R. and W. Acts of the Virgin and of the Apostles.</p> <p><i>Intervening space.</i> The Revela- tions and Saints.</p>	<p><i>Western Cupola.</i> Descent of the Holy Ghost, with the Stranger Nations around. In the Pendentives the Archangels.</p> <p>W.R. Scenes from the Revelations.</p> <p><i>Great Front. Waggon Roof.</i> Paradise.</p>	<p>W.R. and W. Acts of the Virgin and of the Apostles, Christ on the Mount of Olives.</p> <p><i>Intervening space.</i> The Revela- tions and Saints.</p>		

<sup>1</sup> W.R. Waggon Roof.<sup>2</sup> W. Walls.

and arrow; the Arabians almost naked; and so on. Here are the Christian virtues, the deeds and martyrdoms of the apostles, given with a completeness scarcely found elsewhere; for all the innumerable amount of frescoes belonging to Northern churches, which may have exhibited the same subjects (and those in a much finer form), have vanished, or left only the scantiest relics behind. On the other hand, in point of artistic worth, the earlier mosaics of this church (included principally in the front, centre, and left cupola, and the contiguous waggon roofs) are such as to require only a brief notice. If, in the Roman mosaics of the time of Pope Paschal I., some trace of freedom and life was still discernible, here, on the contrary, we perceive in all those subjects which are not the obvious copies of older works (as, for instance, that very Ascension) an utter extinction of all freedom of form. The figures are, throughout, lifeless shadows, looking as if they would fall asunder with the slightest movement. Every step—the merest stretching forth of a hand—threatens to upset them, while, by the omission of the ground under their feet, the last remnant of stability seems removed. Of the grand and solemn types of mosaic art of the fifth and sixth century, only the meagre and contracted outlines are left. Christ himself, as a symbol, as it were, of the decrepit theology of Byzantium, appears here in likeness of an old man, with white hair and beard. On the other hand, the execution is delicate and careful, at least in those portions which are near the eye. The vitrified pieces are small and well fitted, and delicate hatchings of gold and other light colours gleam among the stiffness of the drapery.

Another group of Occidental-Byzantine mosaics exists in Lower Italy and Sicily, of the time of the Normans. Of the three races which contended in the eleventh century for the possession of this territory—the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans—the first alone possessed a developed school of paintings, which the Normans, as conquerors, adopted from them; though in the arts of architecture and sculpture they pursued their own course. Even in the earliest Norman specimen that has been preserved, namely, the Cathedral of Salerno, founded by Robert Guiscard, A.D. 1080, this state of things



is illustrated in the most remarkable way. The building is of the Norman style of architecture, mingled (as far as it is not constructed of ancient materials stolen from Pæstum) with evidences of a Saracenic influence. The more important sculptures are, it is true, not of a very animated character, but round and soft, in the style of the Western School. Indeed, only the mosaics—an altar apsis on the right, a door lunette, and the brazen central gate (the flat silver inlaid figures of which belong to the department of drawing, and not to that of sculpture)—are, in spite of the Latin inscriptions, essentially Byzantine. The mosaics on the altar apsis represent St. Mark seated, with the book of the Gospels upon the throne; next to him the standing figures of four saints; above, a winged Christ, in crimson robe, with long sceptre and globe; all in the same stiff but neat style as in the earliest Venetian mosaics. The same may be said of the half-length figure of St. Matthew in the door lunette. The most splendid specimens, however, of this Norman-Byzantine painting are the mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale, near Palermo (after the year 1174), where the centre apsis contains an unusually colossal half-length figure of Christ—the space around it a crowd of saints—the arms of the transepts the histories of St. Peter and St. Paul—and finally, the nave a long row of Biblical events. As this edifice was very speedily completed, more than a hundred artists were required for the execution of these mosaics, a number which, without the existence of an old and long-established school in Sicily, could hardly have been supplied. Of somewhat earlier date is the no less splendid decoration of the walls of the chapel of King Roger in Palermo (after 1140), and the mosaics of several other churches; S. Maria dell' Ammiraglio; the Cathedral of Cefalu (the last especially remarkable), and many others. The hunting room of King Roger I. in Palermo (about 1100), with the somewhat heraldic-shaped animals and ornaments upon a gold ground, reminds us of the probably similar decorations of the Hall of State, called the Margarita, erected in Constantinople A.D. 829-842, by the Emperor Theophilus, which, with the other numerous palaces of this potentate, have

disappeared.<sup>1</sup> As far as we can judge from illustrations and descriptions, the same barren, withered style which we find in the earlier pictures of St. Mark, is throughout observable in these Sicilian works.

In treating of the miniatures of the Byzantine school, we may safely curtail our remarks, since a number of excellent descriptions and satisfactory illustrations already exist,<sup>2</sup> to which it will be easy to refer our readers; also, more especially, because the best miniatures of the Byzantine time do not actually belong to the Byzantine school, but are copies of earlier Roman works, and as such have been in some measure already described. Thus, for instance, the most celebrated *Codices* of the time of the Macedonian Emperors, now in the Royal Library at Paris, are copies and fac-similes of the best Romano-Christian works. The finest and most important miniatures, forty-seven in number, are contained in a codex of sermons by St. Gregory Nazianzen. Here we find the martyrs, the monarchs, and other distinguished personages of a late period, represented in the style of the ninth century; while the other subjects—repetitions of the charming compositions of the fifth and sixth centuries—represent the principal events from the creation of the world to the time of St. Gregory. More interesting still, from its numerous personifications of natural imagery and abstract qualities, in the manner of the antique, is a Psalter of the ninth century, of which it may be truly said that “in no other Grecian manuscript has the ancient mode of conception been so purely preserved.”<sup>3</sup> Here may be seen, under

<sup>1</sup> The illustrations of all these mosaics, by Serradifalco (del Duomo di Monreale, &c.), appear, without exception, to be coloured in a modern style. In Hittorf and Zanth's *Architecture Moderne de la Sicile*, only the last page gives us a true idea of the style, and that only in a few examples.

<sup>2</sup> See principally Waagen's 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 201, and the illustrations in D'Agincourt's 'Histoire de l'Art,' many of which are taken from tracings.

<sup>3</sup> Waagen, from whom we borrow these words, does not strictly declare these miniatures to be copies of older works, but admits that “in motives, forms, costume, and arrangement of drapery, they have quite an antique look;” and remarks further, “that the mode of laying on the colours, although broad and full, in the antique style, yet is by no means to be compared to the feeling for composition displayed in these works.” He allows also that the beautiful composition of the Isaiah must have had “a very old original.”

the form of a sublime-looking female, "Melody" leaning on the shoulder of the youthful and beautiful David. On one side lies the "Mountain," an allegorical male figure crowned with a wreath, and with a green robe. Farther on David is killing a lion, while "Strength," a youthful female figure, is inciting him to deeds of valour. Again, at the scene of his anointing, "Clemency" is hovering over him. At his encounter with Goliath, "Vainglory" is seen fleeing behind the giant, while "Strength" is stationed behind David. When portrayed as a monarch, "Wisdom" and "Prophecy" encompass him; when as a penitent sinner, "Repentance" is above him. In similar manner, under the symbols of antequely-conceived male and female figures, are represented—"Night," "The Desert," "The Bottomless Pit," "The Red Sea," "Mount Sinai," &c., being a semi-heathenish worship of nature and of abstract ideas, of which the tenth century of itself was totally incapable. On the same principle we might attribute a much earlier original still to the rudely executed, but powerfully conceived miniatures of "The Christian Topography" of *Cosmas* (now in the Vatican), belonging to the ninth century, where the River Jordan appears as a male figure with an urn, were we not corrected in our supposition by the figure of a female with succinct drapery and flying veil, which represents "Dancing." On the other hand the so-called Vatican Menologium, with its 430 splendid miniatures on a gold ground (executed for the Emperor Basil, the conqueror of the Bulgarians, A.D. 989-1025), is essentially a work of that period, and decidedly one of the best known. Eight artists, whose names recur from time to time, decorated the separate days of this most costly of all calendars (extending, however, only to the half of the year) with scenes from the life of Christ, the saints, and the history of the Church—the latter in the form of Synods.<sup>1</sup> In the Biblical scenes, traces of earlier motives occur,<sup>2</sup> but the martyrdoms of the Saints are really the compositions of the tenth century; and,

<sup>1</sup> The tracings from the above in D'Agincourt's '*Histoire de l'Art*' are somewhat modernised in detail, and not quite trustworthy.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that single subjects from the Menologium are repeated in the mosaics of the cathedral of Monreale—probably because this work contained old compositions which had become common property in Byzantine art.

horrible as many of them are, they do that century great credit. For though, in the single figures, we discern a great want of life, yet the composition is upon the whole well understood, and here and there very animated. The saints are here seen suffering martyrdom in various ways;—dragged to death by horses, burnt in the red hot effigy of a bull, crucified, drowned, scourged to death, torn by wild beasts in the amphitheatre, suspended by the feet, and so on; by which a tolerably correct understanding of action is shown, though all idea of anatomy is lost. Drapery and heads are throughout stiff and conventional, the nude is somewhat meagre, and moreover disfigured by an ugly brick-red colour—the result perhaps of an improper vehicle, which has also lowered the colours. Far inferior to these are the miniatures to the *Dogmatica Panoplia*, in the Vatican, executed for Alexis Comnenus (A.D. 1081–1118), which are only remarkable for their stiff, gold embroidered garments, and their weak, decrepit heads. On the other hand a collection of sermons for the Feast of the Virgin (in the Vatican), belonging to the twelfth century, in which the initials consist chiefly of the figures of animals, contains excellent compositions, not only of an early character, but also of the character belonging to that century, and is remarkable for great beauty of decorative ornament. Another important manuscript of the time of the Comneni—the *Klimax* of Johannes Klimakus (in the Vatican), exhibits, in small, highly delicate, and clearly drawn compositions on a gold ground, the well-known allegory of the Virtues as the steps leading to Heaven, and of the Vices as those which lead to Hell. It is interesting here to observe the new treatment of the frequently recurring personifications of these abstract subjects, which were formerly characterized by form and attribute, and generally represented looking on in silent dignity, while here they appear only as small male and female figures, explained by marginal inscriptions—the bad qualities, however, being represented as negroes. The actions are mostly expressed in a very awkward manner, according to some prescribed system.

With the thirteenth century an irretrievable decline in technical power and invention ensued. The already elongated forms became more attenuated, the drawing utterly feeble, the

colours gay and gaudy, and the whole execution one mere painted scrawl. The symbols of abstract objects—the last relics of antique art—appear seldomer; and when they do, are clad, not in the old ideal costume, but in the fashion of the period. Justice and Mercy, for instance, are seen in the gorgeous apparel of the imperial daughters of Byzantium, while portraits of the time of the Palæologi consist of meagre heads, and of a mass of ornament intended to represent a robe.

Of the pictures on wood, of Byzantine art, much the same may be said as of the miniatures, only that positive dates are here wanting; while, from the stationary monotony of art and its types for so many centuries, no conclusion as to time can be obtained. It is true that, previous to the controversy concerning images, countless pictures of this kind had been executed for the purposes of private devotion—chiefly in the monasteries—but it must be remembered, that in spite of the solid nature of the ground or preparation, the wood itself would have decayed in the lapse of a thousand years. The innumerable Byzantine pictures of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, now found in Italy,<sup>1</sup> are principally, or almost entirely, the manufacture of the later periods of Eastern art, and many are much more recent.

Another especial department of Byzantine workmanship consists in those gorgeous enamels upon gold, the style of which is of course intimately allied with that of the foregoing pictures. The Republic of Venice, for instance, ordered for St. Mark's the most costly altar-piece that Constantinople could furnish, and which is still preserved in that church. It consists of a number of delicate gold plates, upon which Christ and the Saints, with Biblical scenes, and the Life of St. Mark, are represented in an enamel of the richest and deepest colours. There being no knowledge (which is perceptible in all enamels of mediæval times) of gradations of

<sup>1</sup> A very instructive collection of such pictures, as well as many of an old Italian kind, have been hung up by the keeper of the Vatican, Monsig<sup>r</sup>. Laureani, in the spaces of the Museo Cristiano. The most important is a Byzantine picture of the ninth century, brought into Italy by means of the painter Squarcione. It represents the death of St. Ephraim, with monks and suffering poor around. In the background are various scenes from the life of that anchorite, not without some expression of individual variety. The artist's name was Emanuel Tzanfurnari.

tints, the lights and shadows are expressed by gold hatchings (whether scratched out or laid on, we know not), which it requires a microscopic eye to trace. The style, though contemporary with the Vatican Menologium, and of the highest delicacy of execution, appears to be somewhat stiffer. The present decorative framework, perhaps even the order of the subjects, belong to the later Middle Ages. In the treasury of St. Mark's, also, there are golden reliquaries of a similar workmanship, some of them, perhaps, the fruits of the pillage of Constantinople (A.D. 1204), of which scarcely anything else is extant. When Art is identified with materials so tempting to the spoiler, she must renounce all hope of descending to posterity.

As specimens of the State embroideries for which Byzantium was especially celebrated, we may mention, as still existing, the so-called *Dalmatica* of Charlemagne, in the sacristy of St. Peter's at Rome, on which, embroidered in gold and silver, and a few colours on a deep blue silk, are contained the Transfiguration behind, Christ in Glory in front, saints and angels all round, and, upon the sleeve, the Saviour as dispenser of the Sacraments. The very inanimate style, and especially the length of the proportions, point, it is true, not to the time of Charlemagne, but rather to the twelfth century. There is no doubt, however, that later emperors, at least on occasion of their assisting at the consecration of the Pope in the character of Deacons, have worn this robe. Ornament and arrangement are admirable, considering the space allotted, and the execution is of the utmost and truest Byzantine delicacy. But as the Greek service admits of no *dalmatica*, it is to be supposed that the robe was ordered by Rome from Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Finally,

<sup>1</sup> See an elaborate treatment of this subject, with illustrations, by S. Boissérée, in the Correspondence of the Munich Academy, 1844. A mantle of Henry II., reported to be in the Bamberg Sacristy, is supposed to be of the same style. The Emperor received this mantle from Melus, Duke of Apulia. Fiorillo, in his '*Geschichte der bildenden Künste in Deutschland*,' assigns this work to an Apulian nun of the order of St. Basil, which makes it Byzantine to all intents and purposes. "The composer or designer of the figures has mingled up things worldly and spiritual,—things astronomical, astrological, and apocalyptic, and has even explained the constellations." (See the above-mentioned work.) Those gorgeous tapestries which are seen as much in Eastern as in Italian churches and palaces, suspended from pillar to pillar, seem to be only decorated with ornaments and flowers—not with

we may mention those metallic plates, inlaid with silver, with which the wooden doors of churches were covered, and which, after the tenth century, were not seldom manufactured, partly for commissions from the East, and partly as articles of commerce for Italy; for the North, which at that time possessed a highly developed school of bronze casting, had no demand for them. The chef-d'œuvre of this kind, namely, the brazen doors of St. Paul's at Rome, which were executed in Constantinople in 1070, have perished in our time. They consisted of fifty-four ( $9 \times 6$ ) bronze tablets, inlaid with silver wire, representing the Prophets, the Life of Christ, and the Apostles, with the martyrdoms of the latter. But this description of workmanship, called *Agemina*, was unfortunately chosen, for the pale silver threads upon the shining brass only permitted of very indistinct outlines, and were incapable of any shadowing. It is only in quiet separate figures, architecturally divided, that any effect can be thus produced; while, in a composition of many figures, a mode of drawing which is restricted to so few lines has but a paltry and barbaric appearance. This is more especially the case in forms of Byzantine origin, with the meagre figures of the saints (sometimes thirteen heads long), to whom the slightest action seems impossible. Other doors of this kind, for example, those of the cathedral of Amalfi (A.D. 1062), of the cathedral of Salerno (about the year 1080), &c. contain this species of workmanship only in the centre pannels, while the rest of the door is merely decorated with crosses and vases, &c. rudely riveted or soldered on to the surface. It is obvious, in such cases, that a few of these costly Byzantine tablets having been supplied, the rest was executed by native workmen. The entire inner door of St. Mark's at Venice was, however, cast in Venice itself, and finished up with single figures in precisely the same style as those from Byzantium. The others are purely Byzantine; the most delicate among them being the right door, which is supposed to have adorned St. Sophia at Constantinople. Here

figures, or we might expect more particular notices of them. The mosaic pictures also of the Royal Palace at Ravenna (in S. Apollinare Nuovo) are an argument against the existence of figures in such tapestries. Figures were probably first introduced in them in Northern art, though not utterly foreign to the South.

the outlines of the figures, standing under graceful horseshoe arches, are not only more delicately executed, but the architectural framework, which, in this instance, was not supplied at home, but is also of Byzantine workmanship, is equally inlaid with silver. We need hardly add, that from those portions of the doors within the reach of a thieving hand, every morsel of silver wire, and of those small silver pieces which were applied to express the face and extremities, has been picked away; thereby giving the finishing stroke to the ghostly appearance of the utterly lifeless figures.

Thus, by the most rigid adherence to a flatness of representation, Byzantine art avoided the slightest approach to the forbidden plastic form, however imperatively the metallic material to which it was applied might seem to require it. Those altar-pieces and brazen doors which, in the North, were worked in the most masterly relief, were here covered with a costly and laboured enamel and silver *niello*. We need not wonder, therefore, that the few very flat reliefs which this school sometimes ventured to undertake, should be, in point of fact, nothing more than pictures transferred to marble, assimilating in no way to the intention of plastic art. In this respect the Church of St. Mark supplies the most remarkable evidence, if we compare its Byzantine sculptures with those of a Western origin, of contemporary or even earlier date. We trace the result of these circumstances for a long time afterwards in Venice, where, even in the best period of sculpture, it appears more dependent upon painting than anywhere else; so that, in more than one instance which we could cite, works in relief of the Lombard school have, at first sight, struck us to have had paintings for their originals.

An art thus sunk into the mere outward form of a lifeless tradition was, in the highest degree, fitted to be the employment of a rude people in whom, besides their deficiency of all artistic instinct, there lay the seeds of a remarkable manual skilfulness. That which had now become a merely mechanical art, was met by a purely mechanical inclination. The intercourse carried on by Byzantium, not only with the West, but with the Slavonic North, especially after the ninth century, had led to the dissemination of Byzantine Christianity, civili-



zation, and art in those countries—qualities which seem the more easily combined when we remember that the Byzantine monks were generally artists as well as missionaries: while, on the other hand (at least among the Russians), all that was gaudy and brilliant in the Byzantine worship, especially its multitude of pictures, was precisely that which most assisted in their conversion. Thus it was that the Bulgarians, a remnant of the Huns on the Lower Danube, adopted both the Christianity and the art of the Byzantines; and the little we know of Bulgarian painting shows both Byzantine style and motives only transplanted into a savage soil;<sup>1</sup> a well-known anecdote leads even to the conclusion that painting was here employed as an essential element in those conversions where preaching and teaching had failed—St. Methodus being reported to have shaken the stubborn heart of Bogaris, king of the Bulgarians, by means of a Last Judgment, which he painted upon the walls of Nicopolis. Not only Bulgaria, but the other countries on the Lower Danube, adopted the Byzantine style. In the great monastery above Tergovist, a place held nationally sacred by the Wallachians, the walls of the church are painted<sup>2</sup> with saints and figures of the old Waiwodes “in a more than Grecian taste.” In a few solitary instances the Byzantine school penetrated high up the Danube, even to the frontiers of Bavaria. The monastery of the Holy Cross in Donauwerth possessed a Greek mosaic picture, representing the Madonna with the archangels Gabriel, Michael, St. Peter and St. Paul, and both the St. Johns. Bohemia even, in the eleventh century, sent a Byzantine representation of the Virgin to Bishop Altman of Passau,<sup>3</sup> though at that time it is certain that the religion and manners of the West

<sup>1</sup> See D'Agincourt, plate 61, for an idea of the Bulgarian miniatures of the fourteenth century, in a *Codex* in the Vatican. As regards Armenian painting, which, besides the Byzantine models, had an early Christian tradition for its foundation, we are not sufficiently informed to speak. These figures are “stiff and lifeless, flat, without shadows, gaudy in colour, and barbaric in costume.” See Schnaase.

<sup>2</sup> See Walsh's ‘Travels through European Turkey.’

<sup>3</sup> See Fiorillo's ‘Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland,’ vol. i. p. 93. Bishop Altman's picture on wood was no painting, as Fiorillo affirms, but a relief in metal or ivory: “*tabulam egregia celsatura pretiosam.*” Vita Altmani, chap. 29.

had obliterated all traces of Byzantine influence in that country.

Of greater importance was the conversion of the Russians under Wladimir the Great (A.D. 988), who, with the help of innumerable missionaries from Constantinople, succeeded in giving a new aspect, outwardly at least, to the religious state of his people: this change was chiefly effected by the institution of bishoprics, monasteries, and schools, as centre of which arose the splendid metropolitan church of Kieff. The Russians received the new doctrines with superstitious humility, and the new art with all the ingenuity and love of imitation which distinguish the Slavonians; and to this day have done as little to raise either the theology or the painting with which Byzantium endowed them. If, in more recent times, the higher classes of Russia have adopted the views and practice of art belonging to modern Europe, this in no way affects the great mass of the people, among whom religion and painting,—whether owing to any national deficiency of capacity, or to the despotic form of government, or to the long-continued Mongolian yoke,—have both remained only an impoverished and barbarized Byzantine tradition. One chief cause to which this may be attributed, as with the modern Greeks also, is the religious prejudice by which the style of art prevailing in the tenth century was honoured as something essentially belonging to and indivisible from the sacred subjects of Christianity; so that every exercise of individual power and genius is interdicted to the Russian artist. Thus the picture itself became sacred because its established forms were sacred; and this is why the common Russian, to this day, thinks that he can never have pictures enough,—rich peasants possessing whole collections of them. The picture is a *fetish*, to be had for money, which is indispensable in every room, and which the lowest soldier takes to battle with him. The churches are covered from floor to roof with pictures; but the chief splendour is concentrated upon the screen, or iconostasis, that high partition with three doors, entirely behung with pictures of the saints, which separates the altar from the rest of the church, and is the most distinguishing mark of the interior architecture of a Russian place of worship.

It is easy to comprehend that those pictures which, in point of time, stood nearest to their Byzantine originals, or were even executed by Byzantine artists, were the best; as for instance the frescoes belonging to the church of St. Sophia at Kieff, founded 1037, where, besides these, some mosaics are also found, of which scarcely an instance occurs later. In the course of centuries, which, however, did not elapse without renewed influence from the declining parent school in the East, forms and colours became ruder and more unmeaning, till at length the last remnant of life departed from the art. A certain amount of the technical habits of the West has now found its way into the more modern Russian Saint pictures, and contrasts strangely with the rigidity of their general forms. But this tendency could be but little indulged, for private piety no less than the laws of the state<sup>1</sup> require the artist's adherence to the ancient mode of representation, and this decidedly aimed at the gloomy and sombre. We therefore see in these Russian paintings a dark brown colouring, elongated heads, mummy-like hands, and a gaudy drapery; that is, where, instead of the latter, a robe wrought in a species of relief, and embossed with gold and silver, is not spread over portions of the picture: this is especially the case on festivals. The effect thus produced is something perfectly spectral, inasmuch as the garment introduced in the mode described is of a plastic nature, while, from a doctrinal aversion to all plastic representation of the human form, the dark-coloured nude is kept as flat as possible. It is precisely this combination, however, frightful as it is, which operates upon the senses of the worshipper, and corresponds with his idea of divine and saintly majesty. This mode of treatment here, as well as in the Byzantine school, is intimately associated with the fact that the artists are chiefly monks and nuns, and that most monasteries are manufactories in which pictures are merely mechanically produced. As the Byzantine workmen depended chiefly on tracings, so the operation of stencilling is here the principal auxiliary.

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1551 a Grand Ducal decree was issued requiring all sacred pictures to be painted like those by Andrew Rubleff, a monk who lived towards the close of the fourteenth century.

It only remains for us now briefly to sum up the later and present fate of Byzantine art. From a people so wretched as the Greeks formerly were under Turkish dominion, no one could well expect the practice of art in its higher sense. For more than a century, every Greek boy who showed any talent or energy was regularly marched off to the Janissary barracks in Constantinople. Nevertheless, we can but admire a people who, under such oppression, could still maintain the old tradition of art, whatever that might be. It may be readily supposed that the Turkish sway, and also the slight yet unavoidable influence of Italian art, must have caused some change; still the spirit of the school is to this day essentially Byzantine, setting aside of course the academic efforts of the late few years. Partial improvements in colouring and in disposition of drapery, chiefly derived from Italian examples, form a strange and motley contrast with the ever lifeless and constrained forms and composition, while such pictures as are painted without these foreign influences interest us, at all events, as genuine specimens of the Byzantine school.<sup>1</sup>

A modern traveller, Didron, the French archæologist, who has devoted himself *con amore* to the investigation and study of the Byzantine element of art, made researches in 1839 into the state of painting in Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, in order to throw those lights upon the subjects of symbolism and iconography especially, which our Western churches, in the white-washed and imperfect state of their walls, no longer afford. The following, as far as they affect our object, are the results he arrived at:—

Mosaic work is now seldom heard of, being a costly species of work, which necessarily declined with the ruin of the people. Those mosaics which are seen in the monastery churches of Daphne near Athens, of St. Luke upon Mount Helicon, and in the church of the Basilians, built by the Emperor Constantine Monomachus upon the island of Chio, belong to the earlier Byzantine time; and only the monastery of Megaspilæon, near Patras, possesses mosaics of the seventeenth century. Other-

<sup>1</sup> The paintings in S. Giorgio de' Greci in Venice give a view of modern Greek art from the fourteenth century down to the present day.

wise works existing elsewhere, and such as are now executed, are restricted chiefly to frescoes and pictures on wood, while the department of miniatures seems to have greatly declined since the introduction of printed books. The incredible quantity of frescoes is especially a subject of astonishment. The churches, compared with those in the West, are small, but very numerous, and are entirely covered with frescoes, the innumerable figures of which embrace the utmost possible range of ecclesiastical subjects. Thus the one single monastery church of the *Panagia Phaneroumene*, upon the island of Salamis, contains no less than 3724 figures, painted jointly by Giorgios Markos, a native of Argos, and his three pupils, and completed in 1735. Observation soon proves that the separate subjects are repeated in many churches without any change; nevertheless the unexampled quantity, however hard and slight the execution may be, presents the most striking *coup d'œil*. Didron's astonishment increased as he visited the sacred mount Athos, with its 935 churches, chapels, and oratories. Not only did he find them, one and all, filled with frescoes, but in one of the monasteries he had the opportunity of witnessing the excessively rapid and easy mode in which they are produced—the monk Joasaph and his five assistants having painted a Christ and eleven apostles, the size of life, before his eyes, within the space of an hour: this also without cartoons or tracings. One pupil spread the mortar on the wall, the master drew the outline, another laid on the colours and completed the forms, a younger pupil gilt the glories, painted the ornaments, and wrote the inscriptions, which the master dictated to him by memory; and, lastly, two boys were fully occupied in grinding and mixing the colours. It follows that, with a rapidity of execution thus far exceeding all Western practice, a whole church may be painted in a few days. The only question is, what are the conditions of such a power of production, and this enigma is soon explained. The modern Byzantine painters, namely, require to bring no thought whatever of their own to the task. Not only the range of their subjects, but the mode of representation, even to the smallest details, is all supplied to them by tradition and old patterns. They begin with making tracings from the works of their pre-

decessors, and by degrees learn every composition and figure, with their accompanying accessories, so entirely by heart, that, like the painter Joasaph, they work with the utmost rapidity, and without the slightest exertion of thought. The stamp of individual genius or character would be here only a hindrance, and would be as little appreciated as understood. In Greece a painter is quickly forgotten, even if he have painted fifty churches, because he is only the instrument of one common process, and his own personality has nothing to do with his works. Indeed the artists of the Sacred Mount (Hagion Oros) themselves complain of this rapidity of production as a source of corruption, and refer with regret to the good old times, when painters did not invent one whit the more, but copied with more care and industry than now.

Here lies then the fundamental difference between Byzantine and Western mediæval art. It is true that the last adhered, in her ecclesiastical subjects, up to the fourteenth century, to certain compositions and motives, and in single figures to certain types, which perpetually recur, by which means we may safely infer that the large amount of labour which was required for the decoration of churches and cathedrals was greatly lightened, while, probably for the same reason, the name of the individual artist was seldom known. But the Western artist, if he so desired, retained not only a great freedom in arrangement of subject, but also created every single figure anew. Head, action, and drapery belong to him alone, and are evidences of his artistic personality, not of a tradition independent of himself.

That this tradition, in the case of Byzantine art, should at last have lapsed into mere written directions for all periods, can be no matter of surprise. In point of fact, Didron found in the hands of the monks of Mount Athos several copies of a manuscript containing a close description of the technical process, and explaining single figures, with the mode of their grouping, their distribution on the walls, and all accompanying devices and inscriptions; this being probably that identical 'Explanation of Painting' <sup>1</sup> (*ἐρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς*), com-

<sup>1</sup> Published under the title 'Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne, Grecque et Latine, avec une introduction et des notes par M. Didron, &c.; traduit du

piled in the fifteenth century from older documents, without which the monks, according to their own confession, could not have continued the art of painting. The author or compiler of the manual was the monk Dionysius, of the monastery of Furna, near Agrapha, assisted by his scholar Cyril of Chio. The spirit which dictated this work is sufficiently expressed by the instruction with which it opens, "How tracings should be made." Then follow directions for the preparation of the walls, the nature of the materials, the grinding of the colours, and the mode of laying them on. The second, and by far the most important part, gives recipes for the representation of every possible figure and scene, many of which either never occurred in our Western churches (being peculiar to the Greek form of worship), or no longer exist there; as for example:—"The Assembly of all the Saints," "The Ladder of Salvation," "The Seven Synods," and whole classes of Saints; for instance:—"The 72 (70?) Disciples," "The Holy Anargyres, or despisers of money," "The Stylites, or Column Saints," "The Sacred Myrrh Bearers," and, finally, a considerable number of well-known Saints here grouped together under the name of "The Sacred Poets," among whom appears St. John the Evangelist. The third part, or the disposal of the frescoes on the walls of churches and monasteries, does not present the interest we expected, as it especially confines itself to the disposition of Russian churches. Nothing, also, is to be found respecting the different schools. The author dwells with much stress upon the esteemed pictures of the monk Manuel Panselinos (who died in the eleventh or twelfth century), of the city of Thessalonica, where Dionysius himself learnt the art, and where, to this day, good old pictures exist. On Mount Athos, also, Panselinos is still considered the real founder of the present style of Byzantine painting. No mention is made of Constantinople. Probably the manuscript was not written until after the Turkish conquest. For the last few centuries it is certain that Mount Athos has been alone entitled to rank

*Manuscrit Byzantin, le Guide de la Peinture,' par le Dr. Paul Durand: Paris, Impr. Royale, 1845. A copy of the Greek original is in Munich. In the numbers of his 'Annales Archéologiques,' Didron has given some account of various churches in Greece, with their frescoes, without, however, sufficiently describing the style.*

as the general academy of Greek art, inasmuch as almost every artist has pursued his studies there, and a countless number of pictures on wood are imported thence, as articles of commerce, to Greece, Turkey, and Russia. If we consider, also, that the tradition of art has, according to all evidence, existed on this sacred mount in one unbroken course since the sixth century, we shall feel that thirteen hundred years entitle this school of religious artists, whatever be its style, to a certain degree of respect, although precisely that quality has preserved it in life which has proved the ruin of Western schools of art, viz., the inflexible adherence to conventional forms.

It is a remarkable fact that the Byzantine style of art, even in these times, is congenial to the feelings of certain Western races, who, with small knowledge and great devotion, find in these strange and dismal pictures fitting incentives for their zeal. A genuine Byzantine Madonna picture, or one executed in the same style, with dark face and stiff gold garments, will everywhere most readily obtain the repute of a miraculous picture—an honour seldom bestowed on the most finished work of art. In those parts of Italy where the Byzantine dominion lasted the longest, the cultivation of the stiff Byzantine type, for popular devotion, was maintained in juxtaposition with that of the most perfectly developed form of painting.<sup>1</sup> In Venice, as late as the last century, painters of “sacred pictures” still existed; and in Naples, to this day, a lemonade seller will permit none other than a Byzantine Madonna, with olive-green complexion and veiled head, to be painted up in his booth. We here stand upon ground to which Titian and Ribera, with all their influence, have not yet penetrated.

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<sup>1</sup> The Museum of Berlin possesses a *Pietà* of the fourteenth century, which has been translated from a picture by Giovanni Bellini into the Byzantine style.



## BOOK II.

## THE ART OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN ITALY.

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PART I.

## THE ROMANESQUE STYLE.

ITALIAN art in the eleventh century was divided between the native and the Byzantine styles—the one as utterly rude as the other was deeply sunk. Upon the whole, however, the Byzantine had the ascendancy. But after the close of the eleventh century, that epoch of national prosperity dawned upon the distracted country, which, sooner or later, never fails to infuse into art a fresh and higher life. The Roman church arose from a long-continued state of degradation, for which she was herself partly accountable, to be mistress of the West. She reinstated Rome as the centre of the world, and restored to the Italians a sense of national existence; at the same time a new social element, consisting of the free townships which had maintained their rights successfully against all aggression, was now called into being in Upper and Lower Italy. Slowly, but unmistakeably, we now trace the rise of a new and independent style in art, which, by the thirteenth century, had assumed a greater decision of character. The progress of particular departments of this development is, however, entirely hidden from us. We only perceive that earlier or later, according to the local conditions of each district, the Byzantine style and the old native Longobardian became amalgamated into a new whole—first one, and then another constituent feature predominating, but always governed and impelled forward by the same new tendency. The Byzantine style was, at that time, so utterly sapless and withered, even in its native land, that it could as little resist as rival the innovating principle, though individual painters occasionally made the attempt.

Piece by piece it gradually crumbled away; features, extremities, drapery, composition, and action underwent a gradual, and often very irregular transformation. And here the term "Romanesque" becomes applicable, for now it was that in Italy also the metamorphosis of the antique tradition in the spirit of the newly created nationality first took place. The epoch of Byzantine art in Italy may be said to have borne the character of an intermediate school only, introduced and upheld by external circumstances. This we may justly assume from the evidence of Italian sculpture, which, even in the eleventh century, with all its rudeness and barbarity, still agrees in principle with the German Romanesque. Even the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, though it was the means of pouring into Italy a number of Byzantine artists and works of art, occurred too late to arrest the change. Contemporary with the same works in which the influence of these last emigrants from the East is supposed to be discernible, arose others in which a very considerable progress in the new tendency may be discovered, and much earlier even than this may be traced, at all events, the first germs of a purely Western Italian mode of conception.

Upon the whole it must be admitted that the Italian examples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries fall short of those of the same period in the North, which, considering the confusion of all the political relations of Italy, and the comparative prosperity of the countries on the other side of the Alps, need not surprise us. But at the same time we should do wrong to form our judgment from a few manuscripts which are here made the criterion of comparison, and which, as works of an inferior kind, can lead to no strict conclusions. In the prime of a period of art, manuscripts may perhaps be admitted as safe evidence, but not so in the time of its decay; for, dependent as this species of decoration necessarily is, it cannot always enlist the best artistic resources in its service.

One of the old manuscripts from which the art of this period has been estimated exists in the library of the Vatican. It contains a poem by one Donizo, in praise of the celebrated Markgräfin Matilda of Tuscany, and is decorated with rudely coloured pen-drawings, of an historical nature, of the latter

end of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The outlines here are in the highest degree feeble and uncertain, the colouring utterly rude and blotty; the expression of the artist's intention, however, though confined to simple and awkward actions, not so entirely despicable. Somewhat better are the miniatures of a so-called "Exultet," partly of liturgical, partly of symbolical import,<sup>2</sup> in the Barberini Palace at Rome. Though form and arrangement are here essentially of the stiff symmetrical order, yet the details are throughout of the native Italian character, and thus, though in the highest degree rude, yet they are not dry and inanimate, like those of the Byzantine school. Equally partaking of both styles, we may mention also the wall paintings with the date 1011 (?) in the church of S. Urbano at Rome, generally designated *Il Tempio della Caffarella*.<sup>3</sup> These represent the Passion, a glorified Christ, and the legend of St. Urbanus, chiefly in a relief-like, and sometimes very tolerably conceived arrangement, which indubitably places them upon a par with many contemporary Northern works. The immoderate length and leanness of the proportions, and the unmeaning character of the drapery, betray the Byzantine influence; while, on the other hand, the comparative animation of the composition, and the speaking though clumsy action, give evidence of a power already considerably in advance of the other. Drawing and artistic execution are in every way defective.<sup>4</sup>

We now trace the development of Italian art far more decidedly in some works of the twelfth century. The Basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome still possesses its mosaics of the time of Innocent II. and Eugenius III. (A.D. 1139-

<sup>1</sup> See D'Agincourt, Plate 66; and, for notices of some Italian miniatures of the ninth and tenth centuries, Waagen's '*Kunstw. und Künstler in Paris*,' pp. 260 and 267.

<sup>2</sup> See D'Agincourt, Plate 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate 94. These wall paintings are now scarcely discernible. We pass over those no longer existing frescoes of other Roman churches which have been described by Ciampini and Bosio; also those scarcely visible, and probably very ancient, remains in S. Sylvestro ai Monti, in Rome. See Plate 105.

<sup>4</sup> Other relics of this period are enumerated by Rumohr ('*Ital. Forschungen*,' vol. i. p. 240), whose too fastidious verdict, however, we cannot possibly subscribe to. Why he should assign these paintings at S. Urbano to the twelfth century is not easily accounted for. As far as any opinion can be formed of them in their present state, we know of no argument for not supposing them to be from one to two centuries earlier.

1153). In the large recess formed by the front may be seen the Virgin upon the throne; before her are kneeling the very diminutive figures of both the above-mentioned Popes, while on each side are advancing ten female saints, eight of whom are distinguished as martyrs, by their crowns, and basins with streaks of blood.<sup>1</sup> The very slender proportions and the mode in which portions of the drapery are loaded with ornaments, though devoid of all folds, are relics of the Byzantine school, while the simplicity and comparative purity of style noticeable in the flowing arrangement of other parts show signs of the Germanic feeling. The mosaics, however, within and around the tribune of the choir, are more important. Christ and the Virgin, here, for the first time, seen in this juxta-position, are seated upon a magnificent throne, his arm laid confidently upon her shoulder. On either side are six saints with Pope Innocent; below, on a blue ground, are the thirteen lambs. Above the tribune are the usual signs of the Evangelists and the Apocalypse; next these, on a larger scale, are Isaiah and Jeremiah unfolding their scrolls; below each of these, two genii extending a cloth filled with fruits, birds, and vessels, almost in the spirit of later Pagan art. Here the release from the trammels of the Byzantine school is obviously far advanced; and this may be considered as perhaps the first purely Western work of a higher order produced by Italian art. Our eyes are here agreeably surprised with free and original motives, and even with admirable attempts at individual character, while the conception of the two principal figures is perfectly new. The proportions are rather short than long; the forms not angular, but soft and round; the robe of Christ especially is distinguished by great dignity and beauty of arrangement. The Prophets, in their animated, half-advancing position, exhibit also a totally new,

<sup>1</sup> These are generally taken for the wise and foolish virgins, because their basins or bowls have somewhat the form of lamps. The style of these mosaics certainly differs from those in the interior, but still indicates the period of the twelfth century. Later, *i. e.* after 1300, Pietro Cavallini is supposed to have decorated the façade of this church with mosaics, which no longer exist. But that the statement of Vasari in no way refers to them is proved by the authentic works of Cavallini.

however imperfect, idea of the principles of the human form. At the same time the rudeness of the execution, the outspread form of the feet, and the unmeaning character of particular portions of the drapery, show how deep had been the decline from which art was now endeavouring to rise.

The tribune mosaics of the beautiful Basilica of S. Clemente in Rome, which also belong to the first half of the twelfth century, afford us the proof that painting here, as in the Romanesque period of Germanic art, assumed, in its conformity with architecture, the character of a decoration. The semi-dome of the tribune—a gold ground—is filled with the charmingly arranged branches of a vine, from the centre of which springs a crucifix with twelve doves. On either side of the cross are the Virgin and John the Baptist; below, at the roots of the vine, are the four streams of Paradise, at which peacocks and stags are refreshing themselves; upon and between the boughs are birds and small human figures, among them the four fathers of the church. Below the semi-dome, as usual, are the thirteen lambs; on the upper part of the wall a picture of Christ and the symbols of the Evangelists; then on each side, seated contiguously, a saint and apostle; and further below, on each side, a prophet.<sup>1</sup> In lieu of the Byzantine mode of crowding the spaces, without any regard to architectural effect (as in S. Prassede), we observe here an agreeable simplicity of arrangement. The figures, in manner and proportion, resemble those in S. Maria in Trastevere, and, like those, are of a thoroughly Western character. The four seated figures, especially, are distinguished by a lively character which we seek for in vain among the Roman mosaics of a foregoing period. And, by the commencement of the thirteenth century—a period when the Roman church attained great power under Innocent III.—the influence of Byzantine tradition, as far as regards single works of art, seems to have been entirely overcome. We may cite the carved doors of S. Sabina, on the Aventine Hill, as an instance, though, as belonging to the department of sculpture, they are hardly a legitimate criterion.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Apostles upon the wall of the choir tribune can, in their present state, only pass for the works of Giovenale da Orvieto, about 1400.

<sup>2</sup> The same dramatic liveliness of action which distinguishes this work

In other respects slight indications of the old and apparently forgotten school of the East are traceable through the whole century. For example, the gigantic mosaics of the choir tribune of S. Paolo fuori le mura (greatly restored) are less free from Byzantine influence than the works we have just described, though undertaken as late as 1216-1227, under Honorius III., and not completed till the close of that century. In the semi-dome is seen the Saviour enthroned between St. Peter, St. Luke, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, with the very diminutive figure of Honorius kneeling at his feet. Further below, on the wall of the tribune, are the standing figures of the Apostles with scrolls (containing the articles of the Apostolic Creed) and palm-trees. The heads and garments still display much of Byzantine feebleness: the general proportions and the chief motives, however, indicate a pleasing return to the great models of early Christian date, which, altogether, had far more influence upon this period of reviving art than those of the remoter antique times. Instead of lifeless masses of figures piled together, we are here refreshed with few and simple forms. At the same time it is possible that these mosaics may be merely the repetition of a former set occupying the same locality as early as the fourth century. The numerous paintings which once decorated the walls of this church were destroyed by the fire of 1823.<sup>1</sup> The same fate befel the mosaics of the west façade, executed by Pietro Cavallini in 1300. The side chapel of the transept, called the Oratorio di S. Giuliano, which was preserved, contains numerous figures of saints, probably of the twelfth or thirteenth century, but greatly overpainted. A certain criterion, however, of the state of painting under Honorius III. may be formed from the wall-pictures in the vestibule of S. Lorenzo

appears to have been peculiar also to the now obliterated wall paintings (scenes of monastic life) in the abbey *Alla Tre Fontane* in Rome, also erected in the time of Innocent III. See some slight illustrations in D'Agincourt, plate 97. The paintings in the vestibule were by another and inferior hand.

<sup>1</sup> They belonged, at all events in part, to the time of Benedict VIII. (1012-1024). The illustrations given in D'Agincourt, plate 96, indicate a style which greatly resembles the wall paintings of S. Urbano, and would strengthen the evidence in favour of their great age.

fuori le mura, near Rome,<sup>1</sup> which are partly of legendary, partly of historical import—for instance, the communion and coronation of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Peter de Courtenay, 1217. In spite of original rudeness and repeated overpaintings, we still perceive in many single figures a picturesque arrangement, an animated expression, and a feeling for significant rounding, which appear to promise a speedy and higher development.

Nevertheless full eighty years elapsed before this development made any further progress. Even the contemporary wall paintings in the interior of the same church are incomparably smaller and inferior; and, as to the small mosaic subjects in the frieze of the vestibule, they may fairly rank as the rudest and most wretched specimens of this line of art that Rome contains. Many other works also of Roman painting are more feeble and undeveloped than those of the period just before them. The wall-painting in the Sylvester Chapel near the church of the SS. Quattro Coronati at Rome, executed about 1245, exhibits an obvious retrograde movement. The figures are systematically arranged and placed together in true Byzantine fashion, so that the same intention repeats itself in the whole series. The heads also belong decidedly to the same school, though the mosaics in S. Maria in Trastevere seem already to have cast it off. The subjects of these in the Sylvester chapel refer chiefly to the legends of the pope of that name. The mosaics also of two small recesses in S. Costanza, near Rome, built by Alexander IV. (1254-1261), representing the Saviour with two Apostles and four sheep, and again seated upon the globe of the world with palm-trees and one Apostle, are very rudely executed, and scarcely equal, in composition, the mosaics of S. Clemente, which are above a century earlier.<sup>2</sup> Here we must also mention the great mosaics in the front of the Duomo or Cathedral of

<sup>1</sup> See D'Agincourt, plate 99. The four larger figures have been somewhat modernized by the engraver. In the interior, next the chief door, on the right, may be seen a Madonna, painted upon the wall—Byzantine in style, though tolerably animated.

<sup>2</sup> See D'Agincourt, plate 101.

Spoleto,<sup>1</sup> representing the Saviour Enthroned, with the Virgin and St. John beside him. It is marked with the date 1267, and the name of the master Solsernus.

In the Italian manuscripts of this period a composition and construction are displayed which, however rude and careless,<sup>2</sup> are still, upon the whole, allied with those of the greater works of art. Here, as in the Empire of the East, the copying of older works was usual, though pursued with less slavishness of manner, being treated more in the spirit of a free repetition. The miniatures belonging to a Virgil in the Vatican Library,<sup>3</sup> probably of the 13th century, consist apparently of freely transposed antique motives, in which it is difficult to distinguish the defects of the first hand from those of the second. Not only the general invention of this work, but every detail also of position, action, and drapery, and even the highly-placed line of horizon, lead us directly back to the late Roman style of art. The heads, also, have the antique breadth and youthfulness; all, however, seen under the disguise of a barbaric transformation.<sup>4</sup>

In Venice, where Byzantine painting had struck the deepest root, the struggle between ancient and modern art assumed a different character to that in Rome. We have here the strange spectacle of a bold mind, at once, with one great work, breaking through the trammels of tradition, while succeeding artists lapsed deeper than ever into the old forms.

In the great mosaics of the cathedral of the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> See Rumohr, in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1821, No. 9, with an engraving: also Ital. Forsch., vol. i. p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> See D'Agincourt, plates 67 and 69; also Waagen's Kunstw. und Künstler, in Paris, pp. 260 and 267, regarding some Italian miniatures of the ninth and tenth centuries.

<sup>3</sup> Marked No. 3867. See D'Agincourt, plate 63.

<sup>4</sup> We suggest the possibility of this manuscript belonging, perhaps, as Mabillon believed, to the sixth century. The splendid uncial letters,\* and the absence of every characteristic peculiarity of the middle ages by which all late copies are betrayed, would incline us to question the period which D'Agincourt, judging only from the style, has assigned to this work.

\* ["Uncial letters, which are large and round, while capitals are square, began to be adopted about the middle of the fifth century." See Horne's Introduction to Bibliography.—ED.]



island of Torcello, belonging apparently to the 12th century, and representing the Resurrection and Day of Judgment, we already perceive a greater liveliness of conception and richness of thought. Incomparably more important, however, are the cupolas and lunettes of the vestibule of St. Mark in Venice itself. In the mosaics of the waggon roofs and semi-circular recesses of a portion of this vestibule, called the Cappella Zeno, we have the Life of St. Mark and a Madonna between two Angels—works of the utmost Byzantine elegance and neatness, and excelling, in a most remarkable manner, not only all contemporary but most preceding works. The gold lights of the drapery, the heads—in short, all the details—are executed with extraordinary care. It is striking how, in the still totally trammelled forms, a fresh *Western* spirit is perceptible; action and position being more animated, and conception finer and larger, than in the genuine Byzantine works. These mosaics, which we may attribute to the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> constitute the transition to those in the vestibule nearest the three inner doors, as well as to those on the left side of the building, and these last may be adjudged to the thirteenth century. They represent in a rich succession of pictures, partly upon a white and partly upon a gold ground, the Bible history from the creation of the world to the time of Moses, and are distributed without distinction in the shallow cupolas, in the lunettes, and in the soffits of the arches. The execution is careful, but by no means so delicate and fine as in the Cappella Zeno; while, on the other hand, the fresh and almost totally *Western* tendency of art bursts upon us here with such surprising richness, that we may regard these works as the finest productions of the Romanesque style. Innumerable new artistic motives are here expressed in forms which remind us occasionally of the Byzantine mode of conception, but still oftener of that of the early Christian period. In point of fact,

<sup>1</sup> See G. Piazza (*La Regia Basilica di San Marco*), Venice, 1835, who assigns them to the sixteenth century, probably only because that was the period when the chapel received some alterations, and was applied to a different purpose. The style of these mosaics, however, defeats that surmise. Similar in character, and but little inferior in grace, is the translation of the body of St. Mark on one of the walls of the right transept (see p. 74).

however, we here see the manifestations of a new consciousness in art. The soft, round forms, the flowing drapery, the occasionally very expressive heads, and the freedom of action, evince not so much a return to early tradition, as to an instinctive feeling for nature, and display a character hitherto unknown in Venetian art. The historical occurrences are distinctly and intelligibly expressed—action and drawing animated and clear. In the details, also, there is much which is archæologically important. The youthful archangels which, at the creation of the world, occupy the place of the Deity, remind us of antique Victories—one of them is distinguished by cross and nimbus. The history of Joseph, in particular, is full of remarkable features.<sup>1</sup>

This distinguished example found at first, however, but few followers. Those mosaics in St. Mark's which are, with probability, attributed to the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, are incomparably more Byzantine and conventional, though, upon the whole, a somewhat freer mode of conception is apparent in them. We allude here only to those mosaics in the chapel which serves as a baptistery—also constituting a portion of this remarkable vestibule—and less for the style than for the subjects of the pictures, which, beside the history of the Baptist, contain a series of symbolical scenes and figures in relation to the rite of baptism. In one of the shallow domes is the figure of Christ borne on cherubim, and surrounded by nine undraped angelic figures (half-lengths). Forming another and wider circle are nine other angels, each of whom indicate their office towards the human family by some appropriate action; thus showing the particular class of the heavenly hierarchy to

<sup>1</sup> See the catalogue of these mosaics in the *Tübinger Kunstblatt*, 1831, Nos. 32 and 33. Rumohr, in his *Ital. Forsch.*, p. 175, is of opinion that these mosaics, as well as the vestibule itself, date from the time of the Greek Exarchate (the sixth and seventh centuries). But there is no possible reason to imagine that the vestibule is older than the rest of the building; and even if the style did not so totally differ from the accredited works of the Exarchal time, the mediæval costumes which occasionally occur are sufficient evidence of a much more modern period. We take this opportunity to remark that these mosaics are here and there interspersed with works of the time of the Vivarini and Titian.

which they belong. An angel, for example, of the class of Thrones, is seated with crown and sceptre upon the blue-starred globe of the world: St. Michael in armour, with spear and scales, represents Dominations; an angel is holding a child in swaddling clothes in token of being its guardian spirit; an archangel sustains a naked supplicating figure (a soul), while below, in a pit, three lamenting forms (souls of the newly-born, or dwellers in purgatory) are clinging one to the other. An angel, again, with the inscription "Virtutes," beckons authoritatively to a skeleton on the ground to rise up—fire and water being close by as signs of the second birth. Another, of the order of Powers, is binding the hideous form of Satan, which lies before him; another is seated in helmet and armour upon a throne—a seraph with a staff being similarly placed. Finally, a cherub with ten wings is seen bearing the inscription "Plenitudo scientiæ" upon his breast. The decorations of the second shallow dome are better executed. Round the figure of Christ are arranged twelve groups, representing the baptism of each apostle. The person to be baptized appears always standing in a stone basin—behind him a figure as witness of the ceremony—and a town in token of the locality. A lunette with the baptism of Christ is ascribed (though wrongfully) to the eleventh century: the scene takes place in the presence of adoring angels. From out the river Jordan, which is full of fishes, rises a siren with golden scales on her body, a symbol of the world and its attractions; and, as such, a significant contrast to the subject of baptism.<sup>1</sup> The rest consists chiefly of scenes from the life of the Baptist, rather unusual in character: for instance, as he is seen led by an angel in the desert—receiving the coat of camel's hair from another angel, &c., with other similar subjects.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So explained in the *Roda umbe diu tier* (eleventh century), in Wackernagel's "*Altdeutschen Lesebuch*," 1st edition, 104.

<sup>2</sup> In the art of Lower Italy, also, which in these times constituted a rival to that of Venice, the germ of a new development began to show itself about the commencement of the thirteenth century (or even earlier), of which, at present, we have no certain history. The Gallery at Naples contains a considerable number of late Byzantine pictures, some of which appear to confirm this fact, though, having no date or locality upon them, they may perhaps

In the works of Lombard painters also we remark a decided movement at the commencement of the thirteenth century. Here, where perhaps Byzantine feeling never entirely obtained the mastery, an element of art is observable which often occurs in German-Roman works, namely, a vehemence of dramatic representation. The most important are the wall-paintings in the Baptistry at Parma, particularly those on the ceiling, which were executed probably about the year 1230. They are in three compartments: in the uppermost are the Apostles and the symbols of the Evangelists; under these the Baptists, and other characters of the Old Testament (in a niche, Christ with the Virgin, and John the Baptist). In the third row, between the windows, are twelve scenes from the life of John the Baptist, and two saints next each window. In these we also find all the hardness of execution which characterizes the Byzantine style, united with a powerful and lively colouring, and an impassioned vehemence in the action which is carried even to exaggeration. The figure of an angel, which is frequently repeated, seems scarcely to touch the ground, so

have been gathered together from the most opposite parts of Italy. One school, however, that of Otranto in Apulia, was accustomed to mark its pictures, at least with the name of the place. These are mostly small miniature-like altar triptychs, &c., of thorough Byzantine treatment in colour and handling. The flesh is of a brick-colour; the draperies very dark; the gradations of shadows hatched; the lights thickly applied (seldom with gold). With all this, singular to say, we remark a certain breadth and feeling for composition as regards the human form. The drapery, in spite of the well-known Byzantine multiplicity of folds, shows a simple and intelligent mode of arrangement. The heads also have so far departed from the Byzantine type as to display some liveliness of expression. But the most remarkable feature is the total absence of the gold ground, which is replaced either by a black ground or by a rich fantastic landscape, with a blue sky. For these combined reasons, however, it is utterly impossible to assign these works to the twelfth or even to the thirteenth century, as D'Agincourt persists in doing. The best picture—the Christ in the Garden with the Magdalen—in the Museo Cristiano in the Vatican (see D'Agincourt, plate 92), bears the inscription “Donatus Bizamanus pinxit in Hotranto.” The same family name recurs frequently,—for instance, upon a Visitation of the Virgin (plate 93) which obviously belongs to the fifteenth century, though the colouring is still somewhat Byzantine. Upon the whole, we may conclude that the school of Otranto itself is not much older than the fifteenth century. Should it, however, be proved to be earlier than the period of the influence of the Flemish school upon the Neapolitan, the circumstance of the finished character of the landscape would justify a strict inquiry. Otranto pictures are not seldom seen in the market of art under every possible denomination.

rapid is the movement; the disciples going to meet John in the wilderness appear in the greatest haste; the gestures of John while baptizing—those of the imploring sick—of the disciples when their master is taken prisoner—of the soldier who acts as executioner—all appear to be the production of a fancy which delighted in the most vehement and excited action. This energy manifests itself also in attitudes of repose, particularly in the noble dignity of Daniel, and of the two prophets beside him. In these works we see the first violent efforts of a youthful and vigorous fancy, endeavouring to bend to its purposes the still, lifeless form of art with which it had to deal.

The foregoing suffices to show that the rise of mediæval painting in Tuscany, the inquiry into which we have delayed till now, was no isolated circumstance, but that, on the contrary, the most opposite territories of Italy began at this time unanimously to stir with new artistic life. We wish especially to call the reader's attention to this fact, because the more modern Italian writers on art, being chiefly Tuscans by birth, have been inclined to exaggerate the influence of their native art upon the rest of Italy, great as that undoubtedly was.

The origin of Tuscan painting, in spite of (and in some measure on account of) various old inquiries, is still very uncertain, and modern investigation has served more to show the confusion which attends its history than to throw any positive light on it. Thus far appears certain, that Tuscany—namely, Pisa and Siena, as well as Florence—pursued, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Byzantine mode, and that the old rude Western style had almost disappeared before then.<sup>1</sup> At all events, no specimen exists which shows so decided a Western conception of form and composition as the mosaics of S. Maria in Trastevere, in Rome (A.D. 1139–1153), or those in the vestibule of St. Mark's at Venice. We shall find, also, that the later Tuscan artists of the thirteenth cen-

<sup>1</sup> In the department of sculpture it is possible that it may always have been kept up. In painting, however, an *Exultet*, and another manuscript in the Opera of the cathedral of Pisa (see E. Förster, *Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgeschichte*, 1835, p. 78), may be considered as the latest specimens of the native style, and belong probably to the twelfth century.

ture remained and continued, in many external respects, far more dependent on the Byzantine school than those of contemporary date in Rome, though they surpass these latter in thought and invention. This, therefore, is the question we have to treat—namely, what painter, or what local school within the dominion of the Byzantine influence, first began to show an independent feeling.

We head the list of the more remarkable works fitted to decide this question with the wall paintings in the church of S. Pietro (or S. Bero) in Grado, upon the high road between Pisa and Leghorn, probably executed about 1200. Here, upon the upper walls of the middle aisle, we perceive the histories of St. Peter and St. Paul, with the figures of angels over them, and, in the spandrels of the arches, portraits of the Popes. The figures in the upper row display "the graceful meagreness" of Byzantine forms, though the arrangement is good and animated.<sup>1</sup> Setting aside, however, this somewhat doubtful specimen, we next come to a picture on wood in the public gallery at Florence, dated 1215, representing a Christ (slightly relieved) between the signs of the Evangelists, and six scenes from the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> It so happens, however, that this picture in no way belongs to the Byzantine school, but partakes, by way of exception, of the purely Italian style, the figures being short, with heavy outlines of a clearly-expressed but rude character, in barbaric drapery.

Shortly after this we trace the more authentic specimens with greater frequency, inasmuch as not only particular works are marked with name and date, but even particular masters determined by curious (though not always trustworthy) tradition—an advantage which contemporary German art is almost entirely devoid of. And first, two artists come under our con-

<sup>1</sup> See Rumohr, p. 345. E. Förster, in his *Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgeschichte*, p. 85, designates these pictures, it is true, as tame, awkward, and incorrect in drawing, but only in reference to the period assigned to them, namely, after 1352. This period is determined by the portraits of the popes, which extend to Clement VI. It is possible, however, that, at the original painting, a space was left free (as in S. Apollinare in Classe, near Ravenna) for later comers. Examples may be found in Giov. Rosini, *Storia della Pittura Italiana*. Atlas, plate 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Rumohr, vol. i. p. 297.

sideration, who, though perhaps not the most distinguished of their time, and still too much fettered by Byzantine mannerism to compare with the dramatic animation of the wall paintings in the Baptistery at Parma, or with the mosaics in the vestibule of St. Mark's, yet, in the comparative adherence to nature evinced by their works, far outstep the bounds of Byzantine convention. The first is Guido da Siena, by whom there is a large Madonna picture in S. Domenico at Siena (in the second chapel on the left), inscribed with the name of the master, and the date 1221. The style of this painting is still perfectly Byzantine, yet not without dignity and a peculiar *naïveté* in the attitude of the principal figure, and in the round, graceful head of the child.<sup>1</sup> The second is Giunta da Pisa, who lived, according to old chronicles, from 1202 to 1258,<sup>2</sup> whose name, with the date 1236, was inscribed on a picture of the Crucifixion, now lost, formerly in the church of S. Francesco at Assisi. Among the existing works ascribed to him (not, indeed, on sufficient grounds) may be particularly mentioned—besides a Crucifix in S. Ranieri, and a picture with saints in the chapel of the Campo Santo at Pisa—some wall paintings in the upper church of S. Francesco at Assisi, consisting of the Martyrdom of St. Peter, the Destruction of Simon Magus, who is torn violently through the air by demons, and the decorations round the furthest window of the choir tribune—the first very much over-painted. Action and expression are still feeble and fettered. Nevertheless we perceive a certain feeling for purer form and livelier colouring, such as is foreign to the Byzantine artist of that late period.<sup>3</sup> And as these

<sup>1</sup> See D'Agincourt, plate 107; Kugler, *Tüb. Kunstblatt*, 1827, No. 47; Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, p. 334. The picture has been partly restored and painted upon; but in the figures of the angels and in the upper spandrels the old execution is quite visible. The inscription contains the following playful verse :—

“ Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amonic  
Quem Christus lenis nullis velit angere pondus.”

Perhaps the earliest evidence of a freshly-awakened artistic complacency at an originally conceived work.

<sup>2</sup> See Kugler, *Tüb. Kunstblatt*, 1827, Nos. 26 and 27. Also D'Agincourt, plate 102.

<sup>3</sup> The lively, or rather gaudy, colouring to which the author alludes, sometimes occurs in the draperies of the Byzantines, but never in the flesh-



Large painting by Guido da Siena, in the Church of St. Domenico at Siena, dated 1221.





works serve as specimens of the awakening taste of the day at Siena and Pisa, so the same may be said of those in the Baptistery or church of S. Giovanni, at Florence. The mosaics here, in the arch of the quadrangular altar-tribune, bear an inscription designating the artist as a Franciscan monk by the name of Jacobus,<sup>1</sup> with the date 1225. The subject is a circle of saintly personages, ranged round the Agnus Dei, and supported by four kneeling male figures in the spandril of the arches. The Byzantine motives which occur here appear to be more happily chosen than in Guido da Siena's works. The architecturally disposed arrangement reminds us, also, of those early Christian models which here, as in other parts of Italy, exercised an influence over the newly-awakening spirit of art. The mosaics, however, of the octagonal dome are by very various hands, and of very various periods. They are arranged in several concentric bands, the innermost containing groups of angels; the second, subjects from Genesis; the third, the Life of Joseph; the fourth, the Life of Christ; and the fifth, that of John the Baptist. Nearest before the tribune these bands are interrupted by an enthroned Christ of colossal size, which, as well as the groups of angels, is supposed to be the work of the Florentine artist, Andrea Tafi (A.D. 1213-1294), who studied under the Greek mosaicists in Venice. The Christ is a figure of the strictest Byzantine type, but with a certain fulness and dignity of form, very different to the meagre weakness in vogue among the Byzantines of the time. The execution is delicate and neat, the gold hatchings consistently carried out. The Greek artist Apollonius is supposed to have contributed to other portions of the dome—he whom Tafi (according to Vasari) had prevailed upon to remove from Venice to Florence. Thus far the account is sufficiently questionable; but when Apollonius is magnified into a whole Greek school at Florence, and their settling there brought into conjunction with the fall

tints. Some miniature illuminations of the twelfth century may be quoted as specimens. See Dr. Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, &c., in Paris, 1839, p. 226. Rumohr (*Ital. Forsch.*) is of opinion that neither of the two painters above mentioned equalled their Byzantine models.—ED.]

<sup>1</sup> Rumohr, vol. i. p. 387, has satisfactorily proved that this Jacobus has nothing to do with the monk Jacob of Turrita, or Jacobus Toritt, of whom more hereafter.

of Constantinople, the whole assertion falls to the ground. There is no doubt that Venice at that time offered the nearest source for fine and elegant Byzantine mosaic work; but we question very much whether, even in Venice, any considerable body of native Greek artists existed at all, and whether there may not rather have existed, from the twelfth century, an independent school of Venetian-Byzantine art.<sup>1</sup> Altogether it appears to us that too much stress is laid upon the last supposed emigration of Greek artists. The apparently sudden rise of Byzantine forms of art in Tuscany, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, may be accounted for in a different way. We must not overlook the fact that, with the exception of Pisa, the highest prosperity of the country, and of its chief cities, dates from that time, and that in the newly-awakened demand for mosaics the delicate Venetian workmanship could not fail to be preferred to the incomparably ruder Roman, or to the remotely situated Norman-Sicilian school. That, with the technical execution of Venice, the style also should follow (if this latter had not actually preceded it) need not surprise us, nor that the style should influence other departments of painting, an analogous case being supplied to us in the Flemish art of oil-painting, which, wherever it was introduced, brought almost invariably something of Flemish reality in its train.

In the hitherto mentioned Tuscan works we can hardly trace any regular progress. In those of Guido da Siena, however, we see the commencement of new life in the expression and conception of the heads. It was the latter half of the thirteenth century which really developed the new tendency. Here, however, we must give a brief view of that renovation which marked the intellectual life of the time, the development of Tuscan art being only intelligible when considered in connection with it. The thirteenth century had commenced with the papacy of Innocent III., under whose great talents and triumphant measures the See of Rome attained a power and splendour unknown before. The highest feeling of religious enthusiasm pervaded the country. The

<sup>1</sup> See Rumohr, vol. I. p. 349.

glowing devotion of St. Francis of Assisi inspired all hearts. How then could the sunken and withered forms of the Byzantine school have fulfilled the purposes of religious art at such a period? Sooner or later the desire for a truer expression of feeling was sure to break the bonds by which it had been paralysed. Other moral tendencies also of a contemporary date contributed to the complete emancipation of art. At this period commences the true nationality of Italy, announced, among other signs, by the rise of a splendid literature in the vernacular tongue, and which, though it bore very different fruit to that produced by the contemporary spirit of chivalry in the North, was equally pregnant with great results to the world. One common impulse for the attainment of a higher ideal animated every department of civilization in the Western Empire, and in art, though only for a brief moment, approached the form of the highest classical perfection. This was the case, namely, in a few specimens of sculpture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though it is highly probable that the authors of them were devoid of all knowledge of the antique. The early works of the great sculptor Nicola Pisano (born about 1300) are strongly marked with this tendency, till, having himself discovered the antique, he formed his style immediately upon it. Here, however, as in Germany and France, this free and elevated conception of form and character was destined soon to give way to a more conventional, and even to a mannered Germanic style, without having produced any obvious effect upon the department of painting. The immediate followers of Nicola Pisano departed at once from his example, while, in those paintings contemporary with and closely succeeding him, that higher cultivation of form which he aimed at is only very seldom to be traced.

And now we must first consider that painter who is usually (though too exclusively) looked upon as the founder of modern Italian painting—we mean Giovanni, of the noble family of Cimabue, who, according to Vasari, was born in the year 1240, and appears to have died soon after 1300. Among the works ascribed with the greatest probability to him are two large Madonnas in Florence. The earlier one, formerly in S. Trinità, and now preserved in the academy (with some

grand figures of prophets and patriarchs introduced in the lower part), is still closely allied to the Byzantine style.<sup>1</sup> The later one is in S. Maria Novella in the south chapel of the transept; in this, angels are represented kneeling on each side of the Madonna; the frame of the picture is ornamented with small medallions, in which are introduced heads of saints. This painting, on the whole, still follows the Byzantine arrangement, but already employs it with artist-like freedom; for the drawing is improved by the study of nature, and the painting, unlike the Byzantine manner, is uncommonly soft.<sup>2</sup> The infant Christ on the lap of the Madonna is very successful, as are some of the medallions, particularly those in which the artist was not condemned to follow the barbarous types of the immediately preceding centuries, and in which the traditional representations of the earlier Christian ages allowed greater freedom of conception. It is said that this picture, when finished, was carried from the house of the artist to the church amid festal pomp and great rejoicings.

Very similar in style to this work, and apparently by the same hand, is a colossal St. Peter enthroned, with two angels, in S. Simone in Florence, over a neglected altar in a dark passage between the church and sacristy.<sup>3</sup> The greater part of the large mosaic which adorns the chief tribune of the Duomo at Pisa, representing the Saviour, in colossal size, with John the Baptist and the Madonna beside him, was executed, according to authentic documents, by Cimabue, towards the close of his life. Here, however, in the figure of the Saviour the artist seems to have been fettered by the prescribed types of the church, while in the figure of John the Baptist we already remark a more animated conception of the head, and a more natural action. The great talents of Cimabue are exhibited in fullest development in the large wall-paintings ascribed to him in the upper church of St. Francesco at Assisi. The decoration of this church must be regarded as one of the

<sup>1</sup> An engraving of it is given in Riepenhausen's *Geschichte der Malerei*, i. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Engravings in Riepenhausen, *Gesch. der Mal.*, i. 7; and D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 108. Engravings of two of the medallions in *Tüb. Kunsth.*, 1821, No. 9.

<sup>3</sup> H. Förster, *Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgesch.*, p. 101.



MADONNA ENTERONED : by Cimabue, in S. Maria Novella at Florence



most important circumstances in the historical development of modern painting. The church itself is remarkable in the history of architecture, having been erected by foreign artists in the first half of the thirteenth century, in the Gothic style, then foreign to Italy. The disposition of the building is also peculiar, two churches of almost equal extent being built one over the other; the under one formed originally the sepulchral church of St. Francis, the upper one alone was dedicated to the usual religious service of the monastery. The great veneration in which this place was held is evinced by the quantity of paintings with which the walls of the church were covered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The new Order here appears in a remarkable way as the promoting cause of the new style of painting. So early even as during the lifetime of St. Francis (who died 1226), one of his monks, the Jacobus above mentioned, had executed the mosaics of the choir tribune in S. Giovanni, in Florence; and now, for a long period, all the artists which the vicinity afforded were employed by the monks to adorn this their Holy of Holies. First, Grecian masters, and after them, as is supposed, Giunta da Pisa, executed considerable paintings, of which, however, but little is now recognisable. Cimabue was summoned to continue these works; what he may have painted in the under church no longer exists; his works, too, in the choir and transept of the upper church are almost wholly obliterated: many important specimens are, however, still preserved.<sup>1</sup>

To these belong the paintings ascribed to him on the vaulted roof of the nave. The roof consists of five square leading compartments, of which the first, third, and fifth are ornamented with figures, the second and fourth with gold stars on a blue ground. The first, over the choir, contains the four Evangelists, which are however almost obliterated. In the triangular spaces of the third compartment, separated from each other by the ribs of the vault, are medallions with figures of Christ, the Madonna, John the Baptist, and St. Francis.

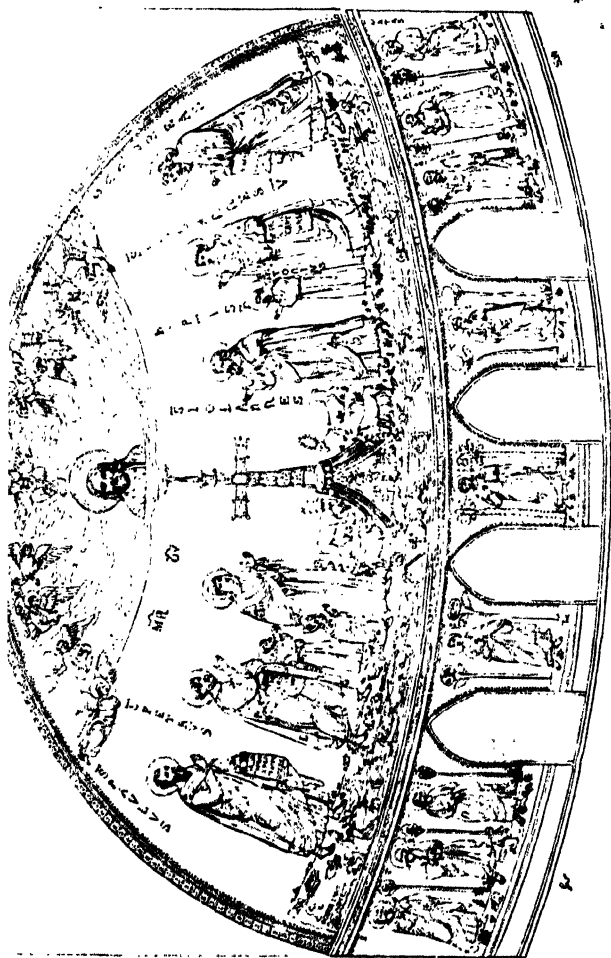
<sup>1</sup> The reasons given by Rumohr (*Ital. Forsch.* ii. 30) to prove that the two Madonnas before mentioned are by the hand of Cimabue, appear to be equally applicable to these paintings at Assisi. See Kugler, *Tüb. Kunstblatt*, 1827, Nos. 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 40.



The character of these paintings is almost the same as in the abovementioned altar-pictures; the countenance of the Virgin in particular has a close affinity to the Madonna of S. Maria Novella. The ornaments which surround these medallions are, however, more interesting than the medallions themselves. In the lower corners of the triangles are represented naked genii, bearing tasteful vases on their heads; out of these grow rich foliage and flowers, on which hang other genii, who pluck the fruits or lurk in the cups of the flowers. In the free movements of these figures, and in the successful attempt (for such, as a first effort, it must be regarded) to express the *modelling* of the naked form, we recognise a decided and not unsatisfactory approach to the antique. One of the figures has, in its attitude, a striking resemblance to the genii of classic art, as we find them commonly represented standing with a torch reversed on the sides of sarcophagi; on the fifth arch are the four great doctors of the Church: in these, however, some investigators recognise not the hand of Cimabue himself, but that of an imitator.

Still more important are the paintings with which Cimabue adorned the upper part of the walls of the nave in a line with the windows. On the left, looking from the choir, is represented the history of the Creation and of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament; on the right the Birth and Passion of Christ. Of the paintings still existing, the best are, Joseph with his Brethren, the Marriage at Cana, the Apprehension of Christ, and the Taking down from the Cross. These also still betray the Byzantine school; at the same time its stiff, lifeless, and repulsive peculiarities are in some degree avoided; the artist has succeeded in expressing the action of a single passing moment, in the grouping of the masses, and in the attitudes and gestures of the individual figures. It is true we recognise in these works—as in the cupola paintings in the Baptistery at Parma—the struggle in the mind of the artist to give to traditional form the expression of a living intention: in this instance, however, the impassioned movement of the figures is happily tempered by an air of grandeur and dignity. But it is only to a certain extent that the artist has succeeded in carrying out this principle of animation in his figures; it is,





Mosaic of the Tribune of St. John Lateran: in Rome executed by Jacobus Torriti, 1267-92

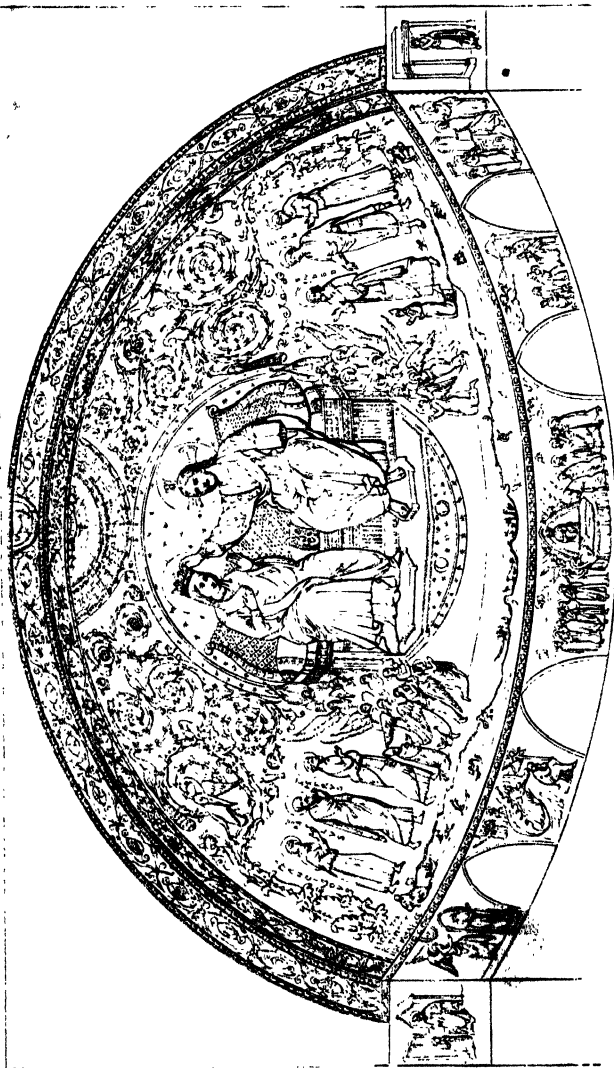
in fact, only attained so far as it is necessary to the intelligible representation of a given event; all that belongs to a closer imitation of nature in her individual peculiarities, all that belongs to the conception of characteristic or graceful action, is still wanting. The form of the countenance is alike throughout, the expression as conveyed by mien always constrained. Yet, notwithstanding all these defects, these works must be regarded as having been mainly instrumental in opening a new path to the free exercise of art.

The lower part of the walls of the nave, under the windows, contains in twenty-eight compartments events from the life of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. They are executed by different hands, and begin to exhibit the style of the fourteenth century in the general composition. From the frequent recurrence of some Byzantine characteristics, it appears however probable that they were done by scholars of Cimabue. We shall return to the most important.<sup>1</sup>

A general affinity with the style and aim of Cimabue is observable in some mosaics executed by contemporary artists—for example, in the mosaics of the tribunes of St. John Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, both inscribed with the name *Jacobus Toriti*, and executed necessarily between the years 1287 and 1292. The first, on which the Franciscan monk *Jacobus de Camerino* assisted, is simpler in arrangement, and less developed in form. Six saints and apostles, with whom appear the figures of St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua on a smaller scale, and in a bending position (emblematic of their being newly canonised), are advancing, with their hands raised in adoration, towards a cross in the centre. Over this, in a glory of angels, is seen the head of Christ as preserved from the older tribune. Below are the river Jordan and the four rivers of Paradise, and on the wall of the tribune Christ with the apostles on a smaller scale. The ground is gold. Here, though not traceable in the details of the forms, we recognise in the animated and inspired action a revival of that poetic intention which gives such grandeur to the mosaics of the fifth century. In every respect, however, the mosaics

<sup>1</sup> Compare Kugler, *Tüb. Kunstbl.*, 1827, No. 42. Rumohr (*Ital. Forsch.*, ii. 67) ascribes almost the whole of these works to Parri Spinello, a master of

of S. Maria Maggiore, executed by Jacobus Toriti, stand the highest, being surpassed by no contemporary work in dignity, grace, and decorative beauty of arrangement. In a blue, gold-starred circle is seen Christ enthroned with the Virgin: on each side are adoring angels, kneeling and flying, on a gold ground, with St. Peter and St. Paul, the two St. Johns, St. Francis and St. Anthony (the same in size and position as before), advancing devoutly along. The upper part is filled with graceful vine-branches, with symbolical animals among them. Below is the Jordan again, with small river-gods, boats, and figures of men and animals. Further below are four scenes from the life of Christ in animated arrangement. The group in the circle, of Christ enthroned with the Virgin, is especially fine: while the Saviour is placing the crown on his mother's head, she lifts up her hands with the expression both of adoration and of modest remonstrance. The forms are very pure and noble; the execution careful, and very different from the Roman mosaics of the twelfth century. More decidedly still do we trace the new style in the mosaics by Giovanni Cosmato in the recesses of two monuments in S. Maria sopra Minerva, and in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. To the same time (about 1300) belong the mosaics on the upper part of the façade of the last-named church (now inserted in the Loggia), in which, in two rows, framed in architectural decorations, may be seen Christ in the act of benediction, and several saints above, and the legend of the founding of the church below. Both well-arranged compositions. An inscription gives the name of the otherwise unknown master "Philippus Rusuti." This work was formerly ascribed to the Florentine mosaicist Gaddo Gaddi (died 1312), by whom some subjects in the dome of the Baptistery at Florence, an Ascension of the Virgin in the cathedral at Pisa, and a Coronation of the Virgin in the inner lunette of the chief portal of the cathedral at Florence, are still existing. These last mosaics combine the most careful Byzantine treatment (for instance, delicate high lights in gold) with the fine and dignified mode of conception of Cimabue, who was allied in friendship with the artist. On the other hand, the mosaics of the choir tribune of S. Miniato al Monte, above Florence (A.D. 1297. if the inscription to that purport be rightly inter-



Vicaries of the Tribune of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, executed about 1200

1

2

3

puted), show that there were painters living in the vicinity of Cimabue who adhered strictly to the Byzantine style, and in no way advanced beyond it. Here we see the person of Christ, formed on the most morose Byzantine type, enthroned upon a green meadow, between the signs of the four Evangelists; on the left, with outstretched hands, stands the Virgin—not without a certain rigid grace—and on the right St. Miniatus, who is presenting a crown to the Saviour. The execution is very careful, the gold hatchings of the stiff draperies of the utmost delicacy. The animals alone, namely, the numerous birds dispersed in the meadows, depart from the old type, and show a truth of nature which is very remarkable for the period.

Another artist, whose manner resembles that of Cimabue, but in a far more developed form, is Duccio, the son of a Sienese citizen, Buoninsegna. According to existing documents, he was an established painter at Siena in the year 1282; in 1308 he undertook the execution of a large picture for the principal altar of the Duomo of that city, and finished it in 1311. This picture, the pride of Siena at the time of its completion, was carried (as has been related of Cimabue's Madonna) from the studio of the artist to the cathedral in festive procession. It still exists, inscribed with the name of the master, and is a surprisingly perfect example of the first style of modern painting. It was painted both on the front and back; the two sides were afterwards separated, and are now fixed on the walls of the church.<sup>1</sup>

We shall first describe the back, which contains, in from twenty to thirty compartments, small representations (the figures about nine inches high) from the Passion of Christ.<sup>2</sup> Here we again find the general types of Byzantine art, but penetrated with deep and lively feeling; here too, as in Cimabue, we recognise a grand and powerful intention in the movements; the artist's feeling is, however, more solemn, and aims more at harmonious arrangement. To these qualities are united a classic feeling for beauty, a winning *natveté*, a masterly completion in the naked forms and drapery, such as

<sup>1</sup> Kugler in Tüb. Kunsthblatt, 1827, Nos. 49-51.

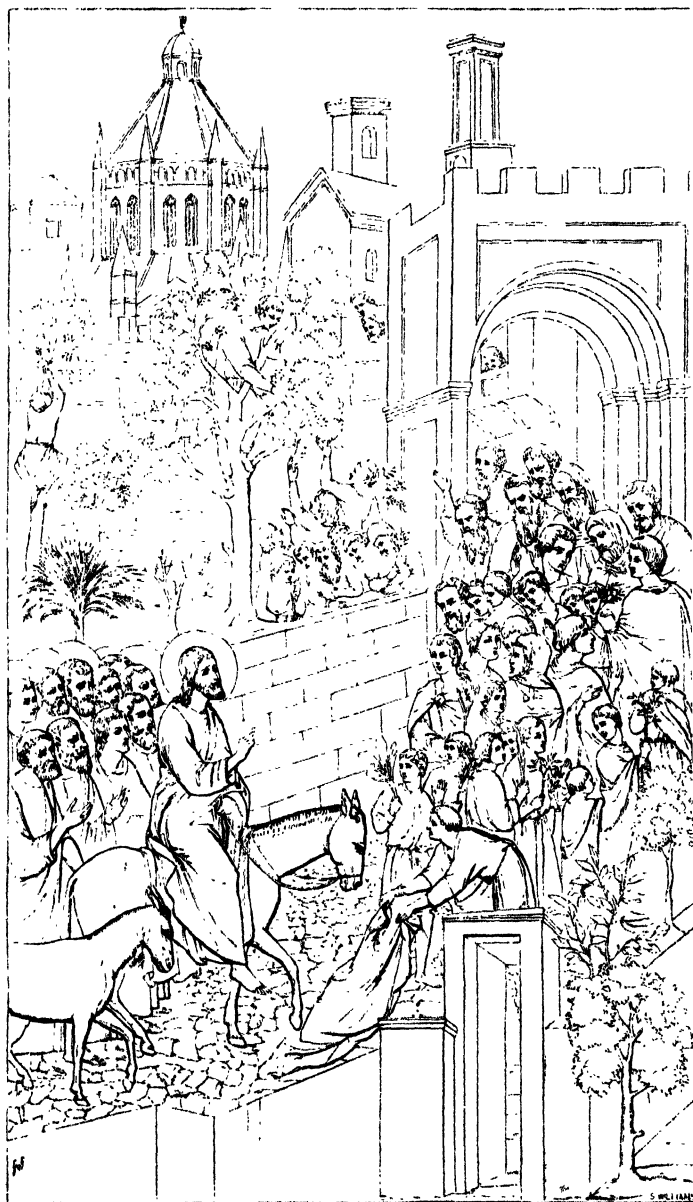
<sup>2</sup> [Published in outline by Dr. E. Braun, Rome, 1847.—Ed.]



could be little expected from the time. In the presence of this picture one might imagine that Duccio wanted but a few steps more to attain the summit of modern art. The skill with which he has divided the principal events of the Passion into so many single representations deserves particular attention; notwithstanding their dismemberment, each is richly filled with figures. The new and unexpected *motives* in the single figures and groups give evidence of a spirit of invention never at a loss, of a discretion always vigilant, of a penetration familiar alike with the signs and the sources of emotion. The artist seems, moreover, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his subject, so that a power of individualizing even to the minutest detail is united with the purest general aim.<sup>1</sup>

We will examine one only of these numerous compositions more closely; it forms one of the larger compartments, and represents Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. The scene is laid near the gate; on the left, Jesus rides on the ass; beside it is the foal. Behind are the Apostles, whose countenances, young and old, are full of energy: John is particularly distinguished by his beauty: their looks, directed to the people, appear to say, "Behold, we bring you your king!" Jesus himself, with a dignified and serious expression, not unmixed with sadness, his right hand elevated, appears to utter his words of woe over the city. Above him men are plucking branches from the trees. From the battlements of Jerusalem, and the garden-walls beneath the city, a multitude of men, women, and children look on with serious faces, but

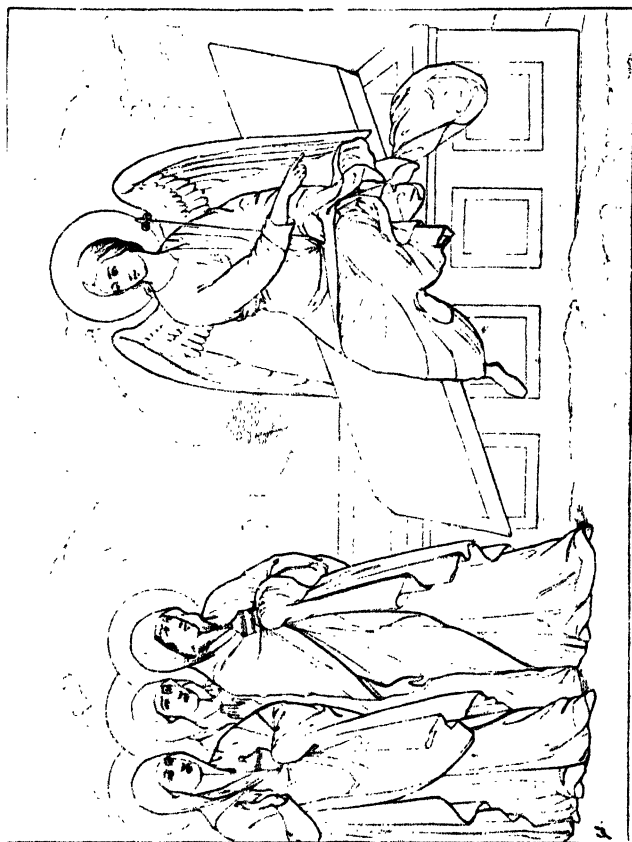
<sup>1</sup> [The author's praises of this work seem, it must be confessed, to border on extravagance, and in some respects might rather belong to the age when Duccio's altarpiece was borne in solemn procession, than to the sober criticism of our own times. Della Valle (*Lettere Sanesi*), who was not disposed to underrate the productions of his countrymen, after saying that the picture was the best in Italy of its time, remarks generally that the manner was that of Guido da Siena, much softened and improved. In a more particular description of the smaller subjects, he observes that some of the inventions were repeatedly copied by later painters, and speaks highly of the expressions of the heads. The picture was covered with gilded ornaments, and, according to documents still existing, cost 3000 gold florins. Vasari's account of Duccio is unaccountably short and unsatisfactory, and moreover erroneous in dates; he says he never saw the altarpiece in question, and could not learn where it was! The negligence of the Florentine biographer has perhaps led modern writers into some little exaggeration in vindicating the fame of this remarkable painter, whose influence on the progress of art in the fourteenth century was unquestionably great.—Ed.]



CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM:







Compassion: from a large altarpiece by Duccio of Siena

evident sympathy. A crowd of people precede the Saviour : some look round, and, with an expression of the deepest reverence, spread their garments on the way ; others bear branches before him ; others, carried forward against their will, endeavour to look back at their king, as well as the pressure will permit. In short, such a crowd is depicted in so small a space, each figure acts its part so well, not merely in body but in sympathy of soul, that it would be difficult to find anything similar in the productions of painting. At the gates stand the Scribes and Pharisees, some of whom are offended at the triumph of their adversary, and appear consumed with envy ; others wonder, with uplifted hands, at his unheard-of temerity ; on the countenances of others may be read a malicious confidence, as if they already believed him in their power. As this representation interests by the well-expressed variety and contradictory emotions of an agitated crowd, there are others, such as Christ taking leave of his Disciples, his Prayer on the Mount of Olives, etc., in which the interest lies in the calm stillness of repressed sorrow and deep emotion of soul.

The portion which once formed the front of this altarpiece contains larger figures : a Madonna and Child, surrounded by Saints. The heads are of the most graceful forms, and are also distinguished, particularly those of the men, by a very faithful imitation of nature. In the draperies we observe, combined with the Byzantine manner, an approach to that peculiar flow of line which became the nearly universal style in the course of the fourteenth century.

In the Sacristy there is a series of small pictures, which also appear to be by Duccio ; there are besides several in the Sieneſe Academy which have been aſcribed to the ſame ariſt. Among theſe, a large work, the principal ſubject of which is the Adoration of the Shepherdſ, appears to be attributed to him on good grounds.<sup>1</sup>

We paſs over a number of ariſtſ' nameſ diſtinguiſhed aſ

<sup>1</sup> According to Rumohr (*Ital. Forch.*, ii. 11) theſe were the framework and upper portion of the great altarpiece. A S. Apollonia, which is painted on the wall of the old circular church of S. Angelo at Perugia, correſponds in many reſpectſ with the ſtyle of theſe old Sieneſe ariſtſ. The figureſ are lifeleſſ, the eyeſ long and half ſhut, and yet the figure iſ not without a certain grace.

contemporaries and fellow-labourers with Cimabue, such as Margheritone di Arezzo, who dealt in similar subjects, but treated them with incomparably more stiffness and rigidity.

How far the influence of the Tuscans of the thirteenth century extended to the rest of Italy, it is impossible now to determine. It is uncertain, for example, whether the Neapolitan school owed its emancipation from the Byzantine style, which we mentioned before, entirely to its own native merits and efforts. An artist, by name Tommaso degli Stefani, who is supposed to have lived from 1280 to 1310, and is generally put upon a level with Cimabue, is, to all intents, lost to us; his only known works, the wall-paintings of the Passion in the Cappella Minutoli, in the cathedral of Naples, having undergone such overpaintings and general ill-treatment, that the utmost we can affirm of them is that their author was no Byzantine. A better preserved work, the mosaics of a small recess in S. Restituta (the old cathedral) at Naples, which represents the Virgin enthroned between St. Januarius and another Saint, and is supposed to have been completed about 1300, displays a similar union of freer and more dignified forms with delicate Byzantine execution such as we see in some Tuscan works, though otherwise it gives us no ground for supposing a closer connection with them. Naples, at that time, was under the dominion of the House of Anjou, which is known to have encouraged painting, and was perhaps even the means of bringing the influence of French art to bear upon the Neapolitan. A French manuscript, "The Tristan," probably executed for that court towards the close of the thirteenth century, and decorated by some Italian hand with numerous miniatures (now in the Royal Library at Paris), is remarkable for delicacy of execution, for a noble type in the heads, for slender proportions and clever arrangement. Delicate and individual traits of expression are also not wanting. The horses, especially, are, for that period, singularly noble in form, while those in the most important German miniatures of the time, for instance those in the Momessian Codex, are proportionably ill formed and clumsy. As we are not acquainted with the date of Neapolitan painting under the last of the Hohenstaufen, it remains to be determined how much of its merits belong to a purely native development.

## BOOK III.

## SECOND STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

## MASTERS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

## INTRODUCTION.

It has been already remarked, that, in the works of Duccio, Art had so nearly attained its perfection, that but a short interval appeared necessary to add all that it still required; yet two centuries separated those productions from the period when modern art attained its highest development. A phenomenon so striking could only be owing to a combination of peculiar circumstances; these we shall endeavour to explain.

In the revival of Art the chief aim of the artist was the intelligible expression of the *theme*<sup>1</sup> he had to treat; to seize

<sup>1</sup> [The word *theme* (Gegenstand) is preferred in this instance to the more obvious term *subject*, for reasons which it may be as well to state, for, though they relate to a distinction which is familiar to many, they may serve to throw some light on the views of the author which follow. In considering the productions of human genius, the Germans always carefully distinguish between the objects or materials on which the mind works, and the manifestation of the individual mind in treating them. The general term *object*, for the first, would be intelligible enough in our language; on the other hand, the word *subject*, which the Germans restrict to the *observer*, to the *individual*, is less appropriate in English without some explanation. In the German sense the *subject* is the human being, the *object* all that is without him. When the tone or tendencies of the individual mind very perceptibly modify the nature of the materials with which it has to deal, this is called a *subjective* mode of conception or treatment. When, on the other hand, the character of the individual is comparatively passive, and that of the *object* chiefly apparent, this is called an *objective* mode. Hence, whenever this distinction is dwelt on, and whenever the adoption of this terminology is unavoidable, it is obvious that the word *subject* in its usual English meaning (as for instance in speaking of the subject of a picture) requires to be carefully avoided. Where, however, the distinction alluded to is not immediately prominent, the word is employed in this translation in the usual sense.—Ed.]



this characteristically, to represent it faithfully, to give it animation, was his highest ambition. To this end his creative power was as yet almost exclusively devoted; and if at times the mind of the *individual* was in some degree apparent, as in certain impassioned representations that have been described,<sup>1</sup> this may have been rather from external causes of excitement peculiar to the period, than from an inly-felt necessity to express his own character and feelings through the medium of the incident represented.

It appears at first sight that such a distinction between the theme itself and the manifestation of the individual mind in treating it is inadmissible,—that the repose of a work of art would be destroyed by such a disunion; and such in fact is the case: but out of this disunion a new and closer alliance was to arise.

This separation and union have their foundation in the very essence of Christianity, which recognises no independent value in the world and its phenomena, but represents the world as alienated from the Supreme Being—alienated, yet, conscious of its state, ever seeking to return. It was for the artist to express this relation, this tendency to reconciliation, between the earthly, the transitory, and the spiritual and eternal.

In the first exercise of Art among the Christians this contrast was already apparent; but we have before remarked that the form it then assumed was merely external. In the further development of Art, an arbitrary symbolization was no longer sufficient: the representation itself was required to be at once symbol and meaning.

Above all it became necessary that the creating artist should appear more definitely in his own individual character. It was from his *consciousness* only that this relation between the earthly form and the unearthly spirit could be made evident; only when the representation was the result of original conception could the spiritual meaning be freely expressed.

Thus the end in which the perfection of Art was to consist was again thrown far in advance, and only to be attained after many successive *seras* of development. Thus, too, it

<sup>1</sup> [Those, for example, in the Baptistery at Parma.—Ed.]

was at first necessary that a *subjective* tendency should establish itself exclusively; that the separation above alluded to should be distinctly defined before the alliance of the opposing principles could be attempted. This new subjective tendency appears now united with a style of representation, the intellectual direction and order of which correspond strikingly with that of Northern art, and which, on that account, may be denominated Germanic. Certain indications even show that the North (where this style was developed half a century earlier) exercised some influence upon the development of the same in Italy. This may be concluded from Italian sculpture, which, somewhat sooner than painting, accepted the Germanic principle of form. Another means of influence was also, as we have suggested, contributed by the circumstance of Naples being governed by a noble French house. Regarded, however, in a broader light, we may consider this metamorphosis in style as one of native origin, founded on the same causes which led to it in the North, and followed by analogous results. In this also we find the consummation of the purely medieval artistic life, and of the Germanic spirit generally speaking. Those essential features in which the Italian-Germanic and the Northern Germanic style correspond, are less of an outward and material, than of a moral, nature. They are based upon a mode of conception, which, disregarding the accidental, kept only the simple and strictly essential in view; that mode of conception, in short, which is generally characteristic of the feeling of the period. This is why, in some instances, Giotto and Wilhelm of Cologne are seen to approach closely together; though, in other respects, the two schools are, as we have shown, as widely sundered.

We shall now consider the next succeeding period of modern art, in which this subjective mode of conception prevails. Tuscany, that tract of Italy to which the greatest names of the preceding period had belonged, still maintains the first place during this new period.

Two principal tendencies, or schools, may be now distinguished. The centre of the one was Florence, of the other, Siena. The difference between the two may be thus

defined. The Florentines and the artists who succeeded them evince a peculiar quickness and vigour of thought. They throw themselves, with a lively consciousness, into the various and changeful scenes of life, and express the relation between the earthly and spiritual—between the objects of sight and those beyond it—in representations of a richly poetical and allegorical nature. The Sienese school, on the other hand, evince rather a depth of feeling which does not require that richness of form, but, on the contrary, adheres (as far as the principle of Germanic Art prevails) more to traditional forms, while it animates them with a genial warmth. The distinctive feature with the Florentines is their richness of thought and composition, and the aim at reality of character: the distinctive feature with the Sienese is the intense and heartfelt grace of their single figures. It must, however, be borne in mind that this line of separation is *decidedly* visible in a few cases only, that it is frequently modified by external circumstances, and that each of the tendencies in question exercises a reciprocal influence on the other.

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## CHAPTER I.

### TUSCAN SCHOOLS.—GIOTTO<sup>1</sup> AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

AT the head of the didactic or allegorical style stands Giotto, the son of Bondone: he was born in the year 1276, at Vespignano, in the neighbourhood of Florence, and died in

<sup>1</sup> [The great revolution which Giotto effected, and the long-enduring influence of his example, have been recorded by every historian of art, without any disposition to question his claims to fame. The only points on which these historians are not quite in accordance, are the definition of his style, and the nature and extent of the innovations he introduced. The allegorical tendency on which the author lays so much stress, remarkable as it is, is far from being an essential characteristic of Giotto, but might rather be traced to the accidental influence of his friendship with Dante, and to the spirit of the age. It may be observed generally that the habitual employment of allegory can only in strictness be said to characterize an epoch, not an individual; for a system of conventional personification must of necessity be the gradual result of a general understanding and common education. The formative arts which are immediately intelligible (inasmuch as they are imitative) would be

that city in 1336. It is said that he was originally a shepherd boy—that he was discovered drawing a sheep upon a slab of stone by Cimabue, who took him home and gave him instruction in painting. His contemporaries all record his fame: the greatest of them, Dante, thus speaks of him in the *Divina Commedia* (*Purgatorio*, xi. 94):—

Credette Cimabue nella pittura  
Tener lo campo: ed ora ha Giotto il grido,  
Sicchè la fama di colui oscura.<sup>1</sup>

His influence was not confined to Florence, nor the neighbouring parts of Tuscany. The whole of Italy, from Padua and Verona to Gaeta and Naples, is indebted to him for various works and a new impulse in Art; he even followed Clement V. to Avignon, and is said to have executed many pictures there, and in other cities of France. Popes and princes, cities and eminent monasteries, vied in giving him honourable commissions, and were proud in the possession of

the last to abandon this privilege for arbitrary forms, if those forms had not in some sort supplied the place of nature. To come to those qualities which appear to have been essentially original in Giotto, we observe that his invention is mainly distinguished from the earlier productions by the introduction of natural incidents and expressions, by an almost modern\* richness and depth of composition, by the dramatic interest of his groups, and by a general contempt for the formal and servile style of his predecessors. This last circumstance is partly to be explained (as Rumohr sufficiently proves in an inquiry into the personal character of Giotto, *Ital. Forsch.*, ii. p. 55) by a total absence of the superstitious enthusiasm of the time.

The minor peculiarities are in like manner all diametrically opposed to the preceding practice. The "spectral stare" of the earlier painters is changed to half-closed eyes, unnaturally long in shape, the dark colour of the Byzantines to a delicate and even pale carnation. It is unnecessary to anticipate the author's just remarks on other particulars.

The pale colour of Giotto was the most unfortunate of his innovations, for it was adopted by the Florentines for more than a century after him. Leon Battista Alberti (*Della Pittura e della Statua*, lib. ii.), even in the fifteenth century, appears to have regretted the prevalence of this taste, for he remarks that it would be well for Art if white paint was dearer than gema.—ED.]

<sup>1</sup> "Cimabue thought  
To lord it over painting's field; and now  
The cry is Giotto's, and his name eclipsed."

*Cary's Translation.*

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\* "The modern manner" is Vasari's term for the perfection of the art in the hands of Raphael, Titian, etc.

his works. Giotto was not a painter only; his name is also mentioned with honour in the history of architecture; the beautiful Gothic campanile or bell-tower adjoining the Duomo of Florence was his design; the foundation was laid and the building executed under his direction. Sculpture too he practised with considerable success: not only the drawings for the greater part of the statues which adorn the tower, but many of the statues themselves, were the work of his hand.

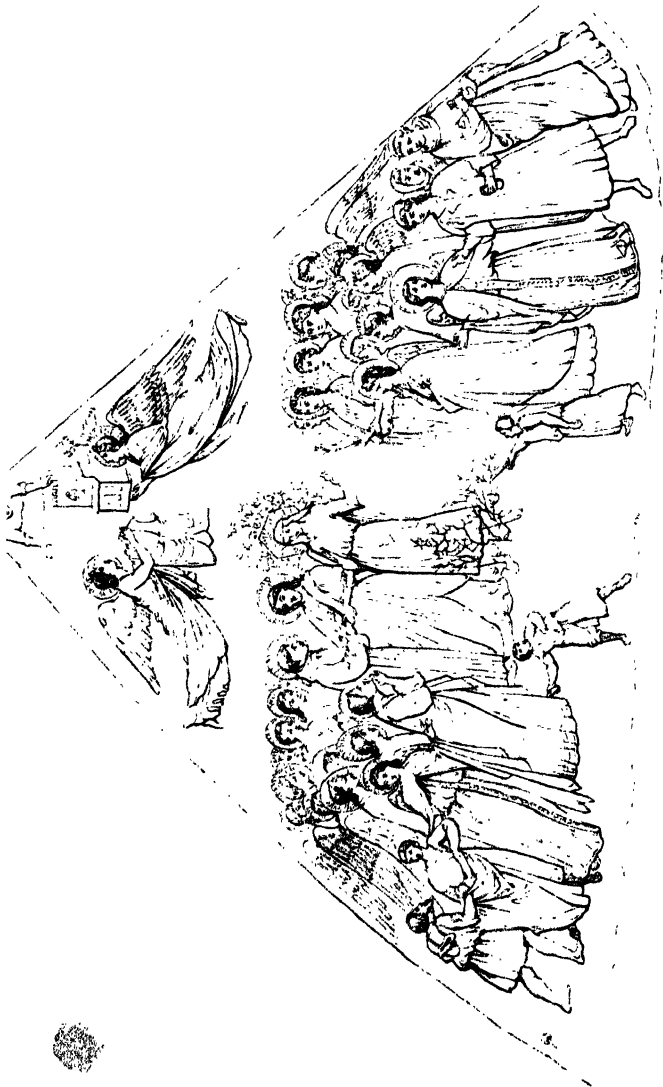
Of the works of Giotto, a great number have disappeared, and of those which exist few that are accredited from the circumstance of bearing his name are of much value. We shall first direct our attention to those which afforded opportunity for the development of the peculiar views to which we have alluded. Here we must consider more particularly the relation in which Dante's great poem stood to the efforts of Art in his time, since in it we find this allegorical mode of conception expressed in its grandest form, and the approbation with which it was received and diffused must have given a fresh impulse to the prevailing taste. There are even contemporary works of art, the subjects of which are taken directly from the poem.

Among these is one of the best works of Giotto; it is in the under church of S. Francesco at Assisi, over the sepulchre of the saint. In the four triangular compartments of the groined vault, the painter has represented the three vows of the Order [Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience] and the glorification of the saint. The first vow is that of Poverty, in which he has evidently followed the allegory of the poet, who, in the eleventh book of the *Paradiso*, thus speaks of St. Francis:

Che per tal donna giovinetto in guerra  
 Del padre corse, a cui, com' alla morte,  
 La porta del piacer nessun disserra:  
 E dinanzi alla sua spirital corte,  
 Et coram patre le si fece unito,  
 Poesia di dî in dî l' amò più forte.  
 Questa, privata del primo marito,  
 Mille e cent' anni e più, dispetta e scura  
 Fino a costui si stette senza invito:

\* \* \* \* \*

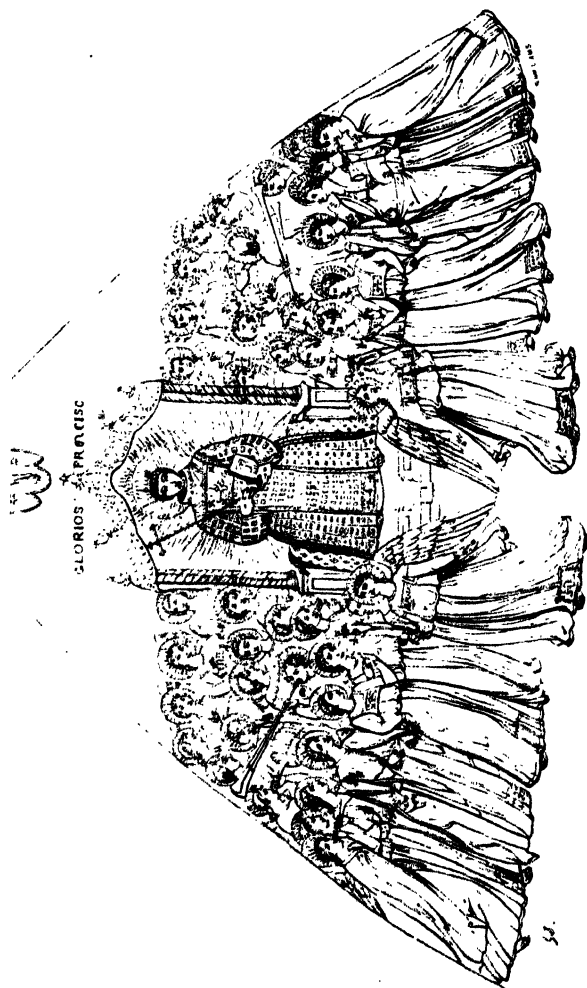




ST FRANCIS WEDDED TO POTERIE, SISTER OF THE LATE ST FRANCIS OF ASSISI.







ST. FRANCIS IN GLORY. a painting by Peter on the East of the Lower Church at Assisi

Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso;  
 Francesco e Povertà per queati amanti  
 Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.  
 La loro concordia, e i lor lieti sembianti  
 Amore e meraviglia, e dolce sguardo  
 Faceano esser cagion de' pensier santi.<sup>1</sup>

This allegory has been copied, with some additional embellishment, by the painter. Poverty appears as a woman, whom Christ gives in marriage to St. Francis; she stands amongst thorns; in the foreground are two boys mocking her; on each side stand groups of angels as witnesses of the holy union. On the left, conducted by an angel, is a youth, who gives his garment to a poor man, after the example of the saint: on the right stand the rich and the great, who are invited by an angel to approach, but turn scornfully away. The other designs appear to be Giotto's own invention. Chastity, as a young woman, sits in a strong fortress, surrounded by walls and battlements; angels pay her homage. In the foreground a man is "washed with pure water," and thus spiritually baptized by angels; Purity and Strength greet him; hosts of mailed warriors stand around for the defence of the fortress. On one side appear laymen and churchmen, led forward by St. Francis; on the other, Penance, habited as an anchorite, drives away earthly love and impurity. The allegory of Obedience is not so clear, and loses itself in arbitrary symbols. In the fourth representation St. Francis appears sitting on a rich throne, clothed in a deacon's

<sup>1</sup> "A dame, to whom none openeth pleasure's gate  
 More than to death, was, 'gainst his father's will,  
 His stripling choice: and he did make her his,  
 Before the spiritual court, by nuptial bonds,  
 And in his father's sight: from day to day,  
 Then loved her more devoutly. She, hereav'd  
 Of her first husband, slighted and obscure,  
 Thousand and hundred years and more, remain'd  
 Without a single suitor, till he came.

\* \* \* \* \*

But not to deal  
 Thus closely with thee longer, take at large  
 The lovers' titles—Poverty and Francis.  
 Their concord and glad looks, wonder and love,  
 And sweet regard, gave birth to holy thoughts,"

*Cary's Translation.*

robe<sup>1</sup> interwoven with gold, holding in his hands the cross and the rules of his order. At his side are numerous hosts of angels, who proclaim the praises of the saint with songs and music. A tradition ascribes the designs of these paintings collectively to Dante, who was an intimate friend of the artist, and even recalls him from the other world to reveal them in a dream to the painter.<sup>2</sup>

In the Hall of the Podestà in Florence, Giotto painted the Commonwealth under the form of a judge, sitting with the sceptre in his hand, a pair of balanced scales over his head, and the virtues of fortitude, prudence, justice, and temperance at his side.<sup>3</sup>

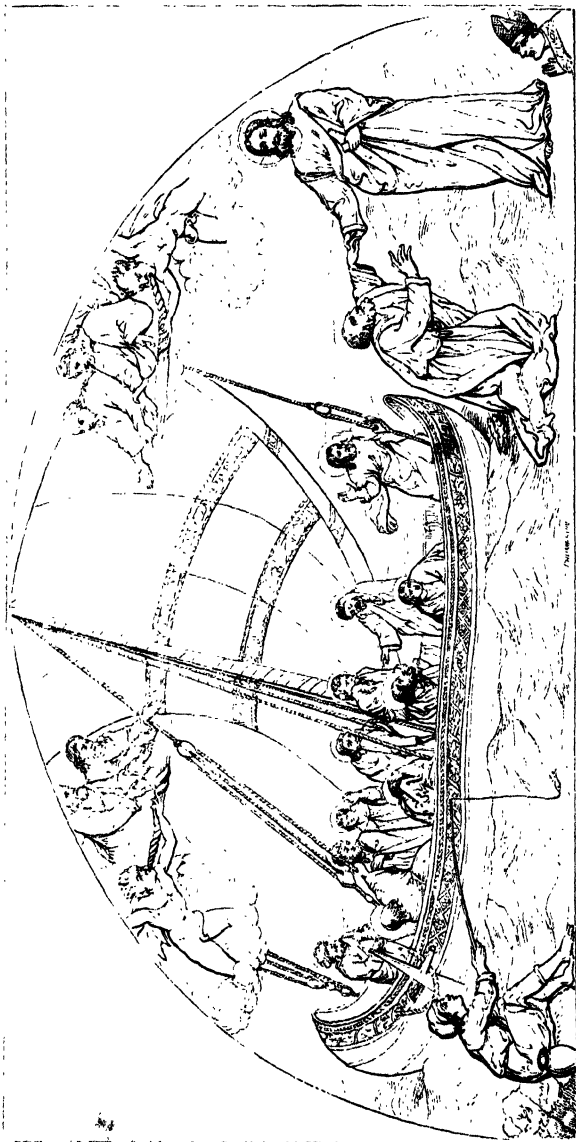
For the ancient basilica of St. Peter at Rome he executed the celebrated mosaic of the *Navicella*, which has also an allegorical foundation. It represents a ship with the disciples on an agitated sea; the winds, personified in human shape,<sup>4</sup> storm against it; above appear the Fathers of the Old Testament speaking comfort to the sufferers. According to the early Christian symbolization the ship denoted the Church. Nearer, and on the right, in a firm attitude, stands Christ, the Rock of the Church, raising Peter from the waves. Opposite sits a fisherman in tranquil expectation, denoting the hope of the believer. The mosaic has frequently changed its place, and has undergone so many restorations that the composition alone can be attributed to Giotto. The fisher-

<sup>1</sup> He had remained a deacon out of a feeling of humility, and had never been consecrated as a priest.

<sup>2</sup> A fuller description is given by a writer under the signature W. in the *Tüb. Kunstblatt*, 1821, Nos. 44, 45. Engravings in Fea, *Descrizione della Basilica di S. Francesco d'Assisi*.

<sup>3</sup> [Vasari states that Giotto painted in the chapel of the same Palazzo del Podestà the portraits of Dante, Brunetto Latini, Corso Donati, and others. He speaks of these works as the first successful attempts at portrait after the revival of art. The figures were plastered or whitewashed over, probably not long after they were done, during the triumph of the political enemies of Dante and his party. The hope of recovering these interesting works had long been entertained, and various unsuccessful attempts to that end had been made at different times; but it was reserved for the late Mr. Richard Henry Wilde of the United States, Mr. Seymour Kirkup, and Mr. Aubrey Bezzi to be at length instrumental in restoring these most valuable relics to light. The crust of plaster was removed, and the portraits discovered in good preservation, in July, 1840.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [Rather as demons.—Ed.]



THE NAVICELLA : a mosaic, partly from a design by Giotto, in the Vestibule of St. Peter's at Rome



man and the figures hovering in the air are, in their present form, the work of Marcello Provenza. The Navicella adorns the vestibule of the present St. Peter's.

In the church of the Incoronata at Naples, Giotto painted the Seven Sacraments. In these pictures we no longer recognise the allegorical principle in which the representation and meaning are connected solely by an effort of the understanding: they represent actual situations of life, but in the combination of these a deeper meaning is expressed. For while they comprehend the whole life of man in the moments of his greatest joy and sorrow, they show also his constant relation to a higher, gracious Being, and the means appointed by the Church for the consecration of his earthly existence and purification from sin. These representations fill up one of the Gothic groined vaults, the space being square in the plan. Two subjects are introduced into each of the four triangular compartments; the last, which makes up the eighth, contains an allegorical representation of the Church. We shall return to these paintings, the greater part of which are very well preserved.<sup>1</sup>

To this last-named style belong also the numerous reliefs and statues which Giotto designed for the three lower divisions of the Campanile built by him at Florence. They too form a grand cycle, conceived with profound wisdom, and represent the development of human culture. A similar connection pervaded all the sculptural decorations with which Giotto had enriched the façade of the Duomo at Florence; these works, however, were destroyed by the civilized barbarism of later centuries.<sup>2</sup>

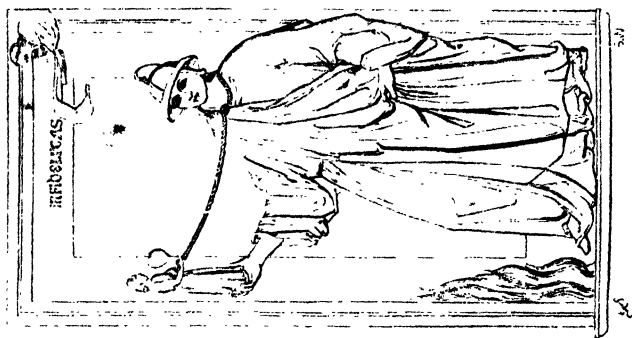
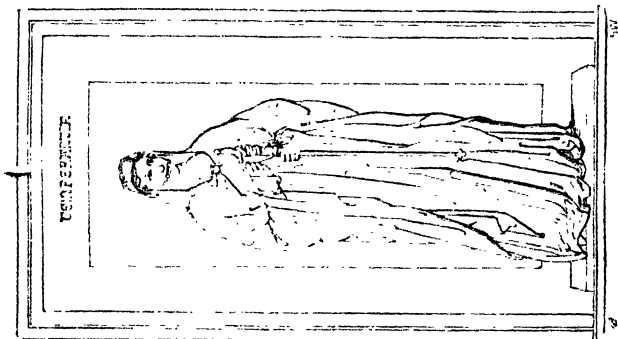
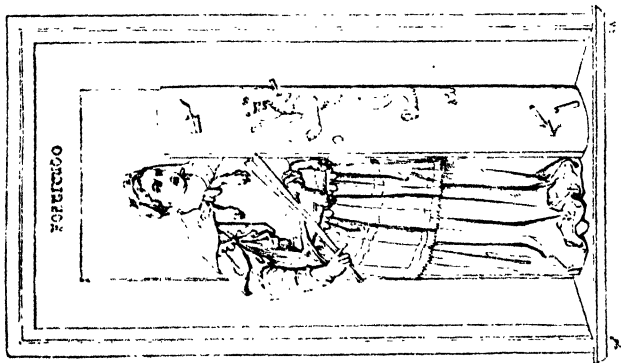
Of the historical paintings attributed to Giotto very few remain, and, indeed, the greater part have of late been pronounced to be the work of other hands. Foremost, however, among those productions which are undoubtedly his, we must consider the great work of Giotto's youth, namely, the

<sup>1</sup> The author has given a fuller account of these paintings in his periodical paper, "The Museum," 1835, Nos. 43 and 44. [The series has been published in outline by Stanislas Aloé, "Les Peintures de Giotto de l'Eglise de l'Incoronata à Naples." Berlin, 1843.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> E. Förster's Beiträge, p. 155, etc.: 152.

paintings in the Chapel of the Madonna dell' Arena, in Padua<sup>1</sup> (erected 1308), which were unquestionably executed by him, assisted by one or more fellow-labourers, in the years immediately succeeding the completion of the building. These paintings have suffered some injury, but have been only partially overpainted (except those in the choir, where the group of the Virgin nursing the Child is the only portion which has in any way been preserved), and, as some of the earliest great specimens of the new style, possess the highest value. In 42 tastefully enframed pictures which extend in three rows along the walls, is contained the life of the Virgin, from the history of her parents to her own coronation. The ground of the simply arched vault is blue, studded with gold stars, among which appear the heads of Christ, the Virgin, and the Prophets, while above the arch of the choir is the Saviour in a glory of angels. Combined with these sacred scenes and personages, are introduced fitting allusions to the moral state of man, the lower part of the side-walls containing, in medallions painted in chiaroscuro, allegorical figures of the virtues and vices—the virtues feminine and ideal, the vices masculine and individual—while the entrance-wall has a large representation of the Last Judgment. Here, as in the allegorical pieces, Giotto appears as a great innovator, a number of situations suggested by the Scriptures being here either expressed for the first time, or seen in a totally new form. He enriches the well-known subjects with numerous subordinate figures, thus making the picture more truthful or more intelligible. In that scene, for instance, where an angel is appearing to Joachim in a dream, he has introduced two shepherds on one side, who contemplate the vision with awe. Where the subject is the Flight into Egypt, the Holy Family is accompanied by a serving-man, and three other figures. At the Raising of Lazarus, also, the disciples behind the Saviour on the one side, and the astonished multitude on the other, form two choruses. In the picture of the Scourging,

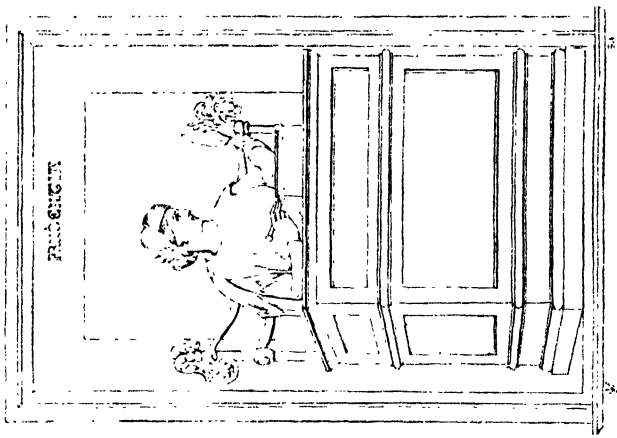
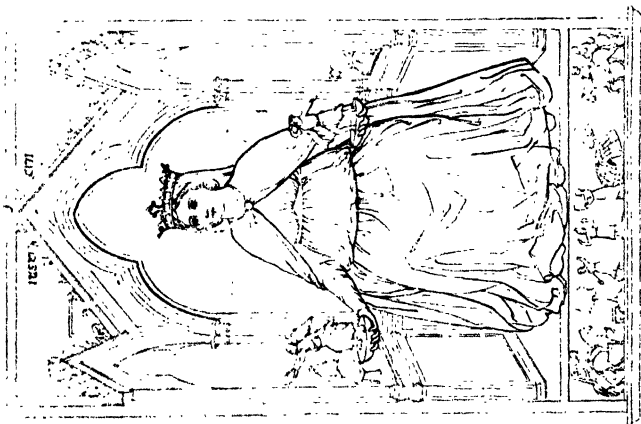
<sup>1</sup> See *Kunstblatt*, 1837, pp. 241, 354, 365, 377, E. Förster's essay "Giotto," and a review of the Marchese Selvatico's work "Sulla Cappellina degli Scrovegni."



Allegorical Figures of FORTITUDE, TEMPERANCE and INFIDELITY, by Giotto, in the Arena Chapel at Padua.







ALLEGORICAL FIGURES OF JUSTICE AND MERCY BY GUSTO IN THE AUSTRIAN PALACE AT PADOVA page 118



the scourgers constitute a rich group, with the figure of a youthful scoffer kneeling in front, and the scribes on the right. This approach to reality sometimes assumes a character which oversteps the strict limits of the higher ecclesiastical style; as, for example, in the picture of St. Anna praying, where a servant-maid sits spinning in an adjoining room. But such extensions of the subject alone would hardly have furthered the designs of art had they not been accompanied by every endowment requisite for historical painting, namely, with the expression of the highest moral feeling, the power of giving animation, not only to single portions, but to the whole composition, and an intuitive truthfulness of action. In these departments Giotto is both founder and completer of his school. Certain sacred occurrences have perhaps never been so happily expressed as by him, though in execution of details he is necessarily much behindhand. The Murder of the Innocents combines with moderate action the expression of the deepest terror and sorrow in the women, and of the most relentless malice in the executioners. The Resurrection of Lazarus, also, considering the necessary limits of the time and style, may be pronounced a perfect work. Martha and an aged Saint are holding the still swathed-up body, while Mary has already cast herself at the Saviour's feet, who is in the act of pronouncing the words of life. The subject of the Entombment, also, has, in choice of motives, not been surpassed by any subsequent representation. The women seated on the ground, supporting the dead Saviour, are overwhelmed with grief. St. John is about to throw himself upon the body, on which the Virgin is imprinting the last agonizing kiss. Other mourners form a fine group around. On the other hand, the subject of the Day of Judgment is not given with that variety of expression which we might have expected from Giotto, although, even here, we perceive excellent motives, and (probably) totally new conception of the subject. Altogether this chapel forms an artistic whole not often surpassed by works of the kind.

Another historical work by Giotto consists of a series of small pictures on wood, which formerly adorned the press-

doors in the sacristy of Santa Croce at Florence.<sup>1</sup> They represent events in the lives of Christ and St. Francis, in reference to each other—a comparison which is only to be explained by the enthusiastic veneration in which St. Francis was then held (he was looked upon as the Second Angel of the Revelation). Even in these historical representations a principle of allusion may be traced, which betrays the predominant tendency so peculiar to the artist. There were originally twenty-six pictures; twenty only are at present in the collection of the Florentine Academy; two of less interest are in the Museum at Berlin; and four in possession of private individuals.

We give the two series in their parallel arrangement, although the reciprocal relation is not equally evident in all.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kubbeil: Studien nach altflorentinischen Meistern, v.-x. Riepenhausen, Gesch. der Malerei, ii. pl. 3-8.

<sup>2</sup> [The author appears to have taken his description of these subjects from Richa's 'Notizie istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine.' No. 13 in the first series, and Nos. 6, 9, and 13 in the second, are the four that have disappeared. As the original number was only twenty-six, it is probable that the two in the Berlin Museum are the two Nos. 13; the subject of one of these being the Descent of the Holy Ghost. The other is a miracle wrought by St. Francis after his death: there can be little doubt that it was the original companion, and, if so, Richa described the subject incorrectly; this is the more probable, as the second No. 11, which is still at Florence, is also incorrectly described.]

The remote connection between the types and antitypes in subjects taken from the Old and New Testament, has been already adverted to. In the present extraordinary parallel the allusions are still more distant; an example or two may suffice.

1. The Visitation. In an edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, in which this subject occurs (the figures in these books, it is to be remembered, are repeated from illuminated middle-age MSS.), the parallel subjects are Moses visited by Jethro, and the Levite visiting his father-in-law. St. Francis visits his spiritual father, who receives him with joy, and hails the promise of his second birth.

3. The Magi (kings), instructed by a sign, pay homage to one in lowly state, who, as they believed, was to restore the supremacy of his nation. The pope, a sovereign, instructed by a dream, respects the claims of one in humble condition who was destined to support the declining authority of the Church.

6. The Redeemer receives baptism from John.. St. Francis seeks martyrdom (called the baptism of blood) at the hands of the Sultan. That he did not obtain this, his avowed object, was owing to no want of zeal or even provocation on his part. (See the *Life of the Saint* by S. Bonaventura.)

It is hardly necessary to add, that this parallel, which the author seems to attribute to the painter, and adduces as a proof of his love of allusion, is with far greater probability referable to the monkish inventions of the time.—ED.]

- |   |       |  |
|---|-------|--|
| 1. The Visitation.                          | 1. {  | St. Francis takes off his clothes in the presence of the bishop, and returns them to his father. |
| 2. The Birth of Christ.                     | 2. {  | The infant Christ appears to the saint on Christmas-eve.   |
| 3. The Adoration of the Kings.              | 3. {  | St. Francis supports the falling building of the Lateran, according to a dream of the pope.      |
| 4. The Circumcision.                        | 4. {  | St. Francis kneels before the pope, to whom he presents the rules of his Order.                  |
| 5. {The Dispute with the Doctors.           | 5.    | St. Francis defends the rules.   |
| 6. The Baptism.                             | 6. {  | St. Francis preaching before the Sultan.   |
| 7. The Transfiguration.                     | 7. {  | St. Francis carried up in a chariot of fire.   |
| 8. The Last Supper.                         | 8.    | St. Francis receiving the stigmata.  |
| 9. The Crucifixion.                         | 9.    | The saint restores a man to life.  |
| 10. The Resurrection.                       | 10. { | St. Francis appears to the assembled brethren.   |
| 11. {The Appearance of Christ to the Marys. | 11. { | A similar representation, in which, however, the monks fall prostrate with astonishment.         |
| 12. The Incredulity of Thomas.              | 12. { | The body of the saint being placed on a bier, a pious disciple examines the stigmata.            |
| 13. {The Descent of the Holy Ghost.         | 13. { | One of the followers of the saint hangs himself like a second Judas.                             |

Of the paintings on the lower part of the walls in the upper church of S. Francesco at Assisi, representing the life of the Saint, some (from the scene in which St. Francis is entertained by the soldier of Celano, to the removal of his remains to Assisi) have been ascribed, not without probability, to Giotto, although this opinion has been much controverted.<sup>1</sup> On the wall of the refectory of S. Croce at Florence is a large Last Supper; a subject frequently represented in those apartments, that it might stand at all times before the eyes of the assembled monks as the holiest love-feast. It is a grand and solemn work, and has till lately been considered as Giotto's; the truth of this opinion is now disputed.<sup>2</sup> Of the

<sup>1</sup> Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1827, No. 42. Two outlines in Riepenhausen, *Gesch. der Malerei*, ii. 11 and 12.

<sup>2</sup> Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, ii. 70. Compare F. Förster, in the (Berlin) Museum, 1833, No. 15, p. 117; and E. Förster, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 137, note. The Last Supper is engraved by Lasinio and by Ruscheweyh.

History of Job, which he was said to have painted, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, but which certainly belongs to a later master, we shall speak presently.

Among the remaining less authentic works ascribed to Giotto,<sup>1</sup> one of those gigantic painted crucifixes, which in old times were found in every church, especially deserves notice. It still exists in the passage before the sacristy in S. Croce at Florence, and, compared with one in the sacristy itself (ostensibly by Margheritone di Arezzo), is, even should it not be by Giotto himself, highly significant of the new tendency. Margheritone has portrayed the body of the Saviour in great measure in the Byzantine feeling, that is with anatomical rigidity of form, greenish complexion, and stiff conventional head—while in the other crucifix modelling and colour are both incomparably truer to nature, and the head has the real expression of departed life.

The few existing altar-pictures of Giotto are less important than the above-mentioned works, although two of them are marked with the name of the master. One is the Coronation of the Virgin, in S. Croce at Florence<sup>2</sup> (in the Baroncelli or Giugni Chapel). Saint and a choir of angels with musical instruments are represented on the folding side-panels. The other, a Madonna, with saints and angels on the side-panels, was originally in S. Maria degli Angeli at Bologna. The middle picture, which bears the inscription, is in the gallery of the Brera at Milan; the side-panels are in the gallery of Bologna.<sup>3</sup> The subjects here do not admit of the exhibition of the master's higher and most original gifts. Other pictures on wood of sacred import—relics of a ciborium above the high altar in St. Peter's at Rome—are now preserved in the sacristy there. The patron of these works, Cardinal Stefaneschi, commissioned Giotto to illustrate a manuscript of the life of St. George with various remarkable events belong-

<sup>1</sup> The Evangelists and Fathers of the Church in S. Giovanni Evangelista, at Ravenna (in a side chapel to the left), are decidedly not genuine, being at least a century later than Giotto. Some good Florentine master, however, was their author.

<sup>2</sup> Outlines, in D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 114, Nos. 4, 5; E. Förster, *Beiträge*, pl. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogo dei quadri, che si conservano nella Pinacoteca della P. Accademia delle Belle Arti in Bologna*, p. 80.

ing to that of Pope Celestine V. This valuable work is still in the archives of St. Peter's.<sup>1</sup>

If we now examine the style and mode in which these works are executed, we remark, first, that the Byzantine manner is entirely abandoned. There appears a peculiar flexibility in the movements, which in some is carried even to an excess of elegance, and is particularly observable in the flowing and long-drawn folds of the drapery. This last peculiarity is characteristic of the whole period. It recurs continually as an established type, but modified by the peculiarities of the more eminent masters: and as an architectural influence is everywhere visible in the measured forms of the severe style of drapery, we may place the above-mentioned treatment in close connexion with Gothic architecture, to the character of which it corresponds universally, and with which it rose and declined. In his heads, Giotto frequently exhibits a peculiar and not very beautiful habitual form; the eyes are generally long and narrow, and very close to each other. That sweetness and grace which, in Duccio's works, for example, appeared to announce the approaching development of the highest ideality of form, was not one of Giotto's attributes. He, on the contrary, led the spirit of art in another direction. In these newly invented representations, founded on no ancient tradition, beauty was less his object than the expression of character. Here and there, however, we find very graceful heads in his pictures, and the whole composition is always beautifully disposed in its masses. Where the subject required it, it is even treated in a peculiarly solemn, simple, and harmonious manner. For the first time since the decline of ancient art we observe a successful attempt at the regular disposal of the subject in the space allotted. This Giotto has combined with the utmost animation of the whole. The execution of the details is, it must be confessed, generally sketchy, and, as it were, suggestive: completeness was perhaps less essentially allied to his peculiar views as an artist. The

<sup>1</sup> We pass over other pictures ascribed to Giotto in various galleries. A communication by E. Förster (*Kunstbl.*, 1838, No. 3) leads us to hope that a row of wall pictures by Giotto, in the Chapter-house of St. Anthony at Padua, may be still freed from the coatings of whitewash which now cover them.



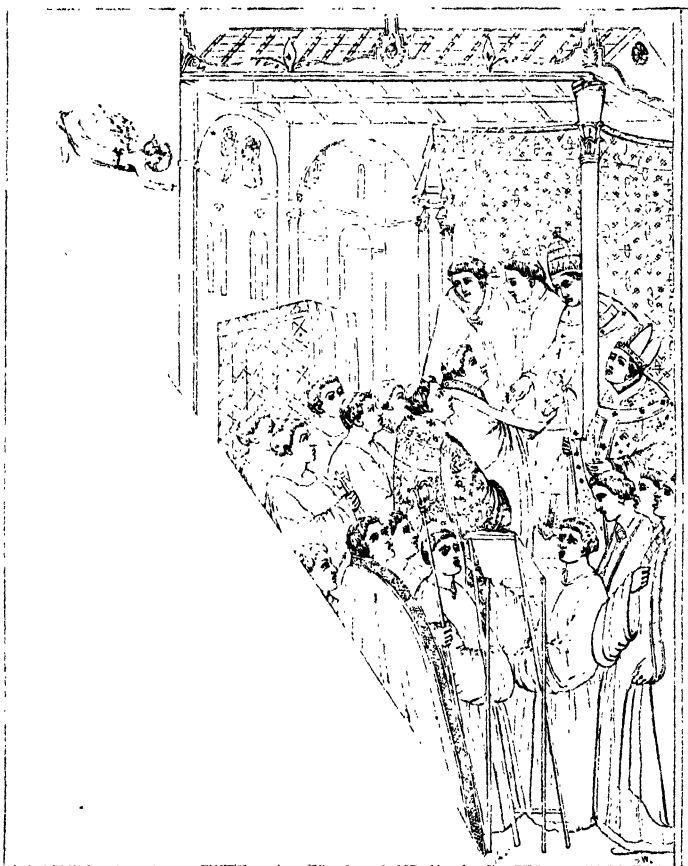
vehicle he employed with his colours was more fluid than that hitherto used; it allowed a greater freedom of hand, and has also darkened but little with time.

Giotto's highest merit, as we have mentioned in describing the frescoes at Padua, consists especially in the number of new subjects which he introduced, in the life-like and spiritual expression with which he heightened all familiar occurrences and situations, and in the choice of the moment of representation. In all these no earlier Christian painter can be compared with him. Another and scarcely less important quality he possesses is the power of conveying truth of character; this he attained in so great a degree that his contemporaries were astonished by the before unknown life of his representations. His few portraits bear an inward guarantee of their lively truth. That fresco detached from the wall now in the church of the Lateran, representing Pope Boniface VIII. between two priests, announcing the Jubilee, exhibits in the features of the Pope a remarkable union of cunning and hilarity, combined with a certain dignity of form. His portrait of Dante, also, discovered on a wall in the palace of the Podestà at Florence, shows a deep and penetrating mind. The most interesting examples of this element of his art are the above-mentioned Sacraments in the Incoronata at Naples. In these we not only find heads copied from life with the greatest fidelity, but also such a natural conception of particular situations as brings the scene in complete distinctness before the spectator. We subjoin a description of some of them, as they are characteristic of Giotto's manner.

Confession.<sup>1</sup>—Rich architecture in the Florentine Gothic style, partly open. The priest sits in the confessional, listening with serious, expressive mien; before him kneels a woman at confession, with a troubled countenance; on the right, outside, are three penitents, who leave the church with measured steps. Their heads are concealed in black hoods, their arms, legs, and backs naked. They are scourging themselves, and from the back of the foremost the blood is flowing; above, demons are seen flying away.

Holy Orders.—Open Byzantine church architecture. In

<sup>1</sup> [More generally called Penance.—Ed.]

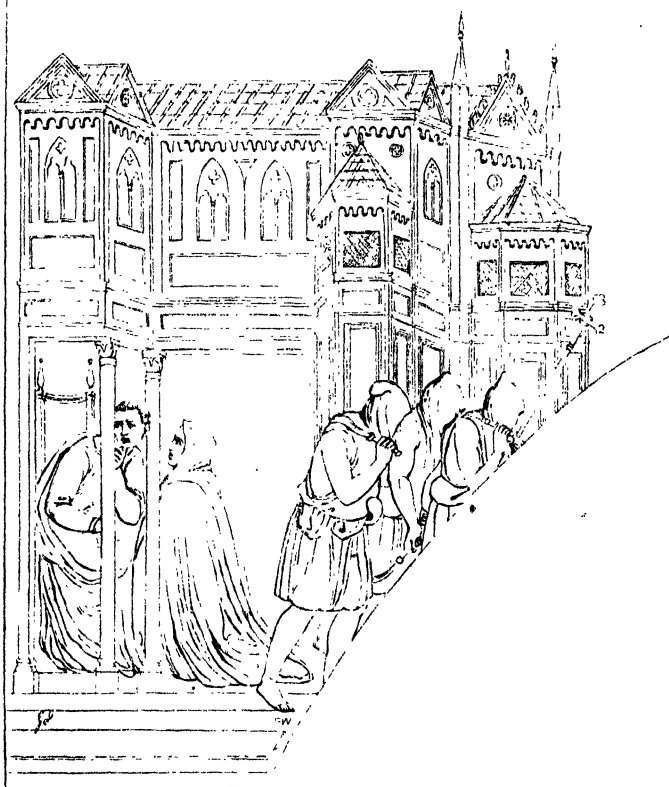


# HOIA CEBERS;

Procession in the Church of the Trinità at Naples.

page 134.





CONFESSIOX ;

A fresco by Giotto in the Church of the Incoronata at Naples

page 134.



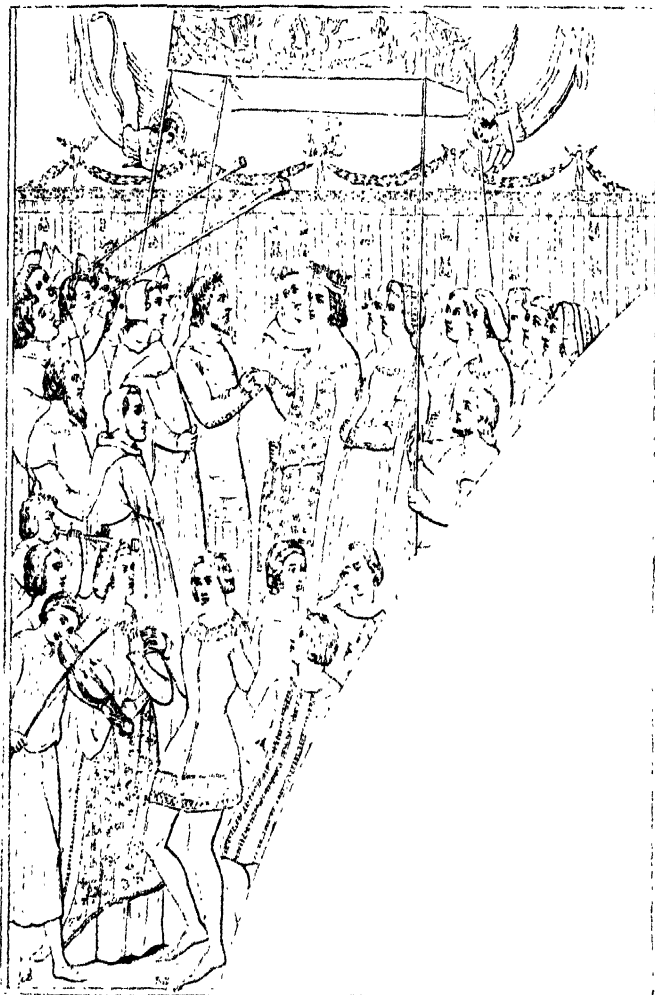


Youngest Portrait of DANIEL Bricetto, recently discovered in Florence  
Page 134









MARRIAGE.

the vault of the tribune a mosaic is introduced—Christ calling the two disciples, evidently as an emblem of the holy ceremony. In the church sits the Pope under a canopy: several priests in rich dresses are at his side. He takes the hands of the young, timid priest who is about to be consecrated, and behind whom stand several priests and young choristers; in the foreground is a choir of ten singers, standing before a desk. Their careless attitudes, the straining action of the chanting, the varied expressions indicating the different intonations of voice, are all represented in the group, with the happiest and most pleasing *naïveté*: an angel hovers above on the left.

Marriage.—A richly ornamented hanging in the background, above which are small statues of *amorini* with golden garlands. In the centre of the composition stand a princely pair; the bridegroom is putting the ring on the bride's finger; a priest behind them joins their hands. According to an old tradition, they are the founders of the church—Queen Joanna I. and Louis of Tarento; he has something of the Vandal in his physiognomy, and a red pointed beard: the queen has an extremely delicate, refined character of face with light hair. Behind her stand a crowd of charming women, who are distinguished by their graceful heads and their natural attitudes. Behind the prince stand priests, &c.; behind these, some trumpeters blowing their trumpets with most amusing energy. The princely pair stand under a canopy, the poles of which are borne by two knights, and over them on each side an angel hovers. In the foreground, on the left, are seen a violin-player—his head bent very feelingly over his instrument—and a merry hautboy-player. Near them, knights and ladies with elegant movements perform a dance.

The most important of Giotto's scholars was Taddeo Gaddi, son of the before-mentioned Gaddo Gaddi. He was born in the year 1300, and was held at the baptismal font by Giotto. He attained his greatest celebrity about the middle of the fourteenth century. Examples are cited in the works of this artist which show that he followed the general style of his master: he painted, for instance, an allegory in the tribunal

of the Mercanzia Vecchia at Florence, in which Truth was represented taking out the tongue of Falsehood, in the presence of the six magistrates of whom the tribunal consisted. This invention (for the work exists no longer) does not seem to evince any very artist-like power over the difficulties of this allegorical mode of treatment. Taddeo appears to more advantage in a still existing cycle of simple historical subjects, in which the second feature of Giotto's style, the artless and characteristic conception of life, is expressed with peculiar beauty and purity. They are subjects from the life of the Virgin, painted on two walls of the Baroncelli (now Giugni) Chapel in S. Croce at Florence.<sup>1</sup> In these works we recognise a peculiarly elegant fancy, which has the power of transforming a subject, dedicated to religious edification, into the most graceful idyll. For example, in the picture of the Birth of the Virgin, the women caressing the new-born babe are most gracefully introduced. The same may be said of the next also—the Dedication of the Virgin, who is seen ascending the steps of the Temple, while a troop of young Temple virgins are hastening joyfully to meet her through the airy arcades. Of most remarkable expression, also, is one of the smaller pictures on the wall containing the windows. Here are the three wise men of the East keeping watch on the lonely mountain, where, year after year, they had observed the stars, and where now, at last, the star with the figure of the child in the centre appears to them. Rapt in adoration, they are kneeling at the sight; one of them trying to screen his eyes from the light; the second stooping eagerly forward, and pointing upwards; the third humbly crossing his hands on his breast. In point of detail, Taddeo Gaddi is less firm and characteristic than Giotto—in the type of his countenances, for instance, less individual. Besides these works there exist some beautifully executed smaller panel-pictures of Taddeo: several are in the Florentine Academy, many in the Museum at Berlin; among these last, some subjects which form a small altar decoration are particularly worthy of notice. They

<sup>1</sup> All these representations, excepting the two uppermost on the wall where the window is, the Annunciation and Visitation, have been engraved by Lasinio in his *Specimens of old Florentine Masters*, pl. 14-17.

are inscribed with the name of the artist, and the year 1334. A manuscript of the celebrated *Speculum Salvationis*, in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris, contains 160 slightly coloured pen-drawings, which recall in many respects the manner of Taddeo, and are remarkable for simplicity and dignity of composition and for graceful motives. In the heads, especially, we observe a delicate and individual character.<sup>1</sup>

The truth and feeling with which Taddeo had represented the life of the Virgin naturally induced many imitations. We find the same subjects arranged quite in similar order on one of the walls of a chapel in the sacristy of S. Croce; and on the opposite one is the history of Mary Magdalen, treated in the same style.<sup>2</sup> The compositions are excellent (particularly, in the second series, the Visit of Christ to Mary and Martha); but as the execution wants that delicacy of feeling so attractive in Taddeo, the earlier received opinion that these works were by him can hardly be correct.

Angiolo Gaddi, the son and scholar of Taddeo, also treated the life of the Virgin in a similar manner, in a comprehensive series of subjects, with which he embellished the walls of the chapel of the Holy Girdle in the cathedral of Prato. They occupy but one wall; the second contains the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin; the third, the history of her holy girdle. These and the other series executed by Angiolo in the choir of S. Croce in Florence (the two best preserved of his works) have in their general character something of the ability and unaffected style of his predecessors, but they are only repetitions in a more mechanical form. It is, however, to be remarked of the last-mentioned paintings, that the subject they treat—the history of the Holy Cross—abounds with allusions of an allegorical nature. The mere list of the subjects on one wall will sufficiently confirm this. Above, is the history of the tree of knowledge; underneath, the same tree serves as a bridge, and the queen of Sheba, to whom its future importance is revealed, kneels before it; afterwards, the tree, drawn out of a morass, is converted into the cross,

<sup>1</sup> Waagen's *Kunstw. und Kunstbl.* in Paris, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Two representations (one out of each series) are given in Kubbell's *Studien*, pl. 27 and 28. Compare Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, ii. 80.

and finally restores a dead person to life in the presence of the empress Helena.<sup>1</sup>

Another artist of the time, Giotto (properly called Tommaso), is similar in style, but he penetrated deeper into the peculiarities of Giotto, and knew how to repeat them with feeling. Of this we have a proof in his paintings in the Bardi Chapel in S. Croce at Florence; they represent the history of the miracles of St. Sylvester: and again in a Coronation of the Virgin in the under-church of S. Francesco at Assisi. Giotto, who seems to have obtained this name from his successful imitation of Giotto, was the son of a certain Stefano, one of the scholars of Giotto, who, from the dexterity with which he imitated the details of natural appearances, received the name of *scimia della natura*—"the ape of nature."

We pass over many scholars and imitators of Giotto, as their works contributed nothing to the further progress of art: even of those above adduced none equalled their master in the greatness of his conceptions. We shall also for the present disregard the numerous artists of other schools whose style

<sup>1</sup> [If, in his remarks on the allegorical treatment of this subject, the author means to attribute its conception to the painter, he is mistaken; the whole story is to be found in the Aurea Legenda. The following abridgment of this fable may serve as a specimen of the troubled sources from which the early painters derived their inspiration. Adam, being at the point of death, desires Seth to procure the oil of mercy (for the extreme unction) from the angels who guard Paradise. Seth, on applying for it, learns from the archangel Michael, that the oil can only be obtained after the lapse of ages (the period announced corresponding with the interval from the Fall to the Atonement). Seth receives from the angels, instead, a small branch of the tree of knowledge, and is told that, when it should bear fruit, Adam would recover. On his return he finds Adam dead, and plants the branch on his tomb. The sapling grew to a tree, which flourished till the time of Solomon, who had it hewn down for the purposes of building; the workmen, however, found such difficulty in adapting it, that it was thrown aside, and now served as a bridge over a lake. The queen of Sheba (the type of the Gentiles), about to cross the bridge, sees in a vision the Saviour on the cross, and kneels in adoration. She informs Solomon that, when a certain One should be suspended on that tree, the fall of the Jewish nation would be near. Solomon, alarmed, buries the fatal wood deep in the earth; the same spot in process of time becomes the pool of Bethesda. Immediately before the crucifixion the tree rises, and floats on the surface of the water; it is then taken out and serves for the cross. (See the Aurea Legenda under the rubric De Inventionem Sanctæ Crucis.) The legend of the finding of the cross by the Empress Helena is well known. The same story, with some slight variations, is the subject of a series of frescoes at Arezzo, by Pietro della Francesca.—Ed.]

was entirely transformed by Giotto's influence ; returning to them in due time when we notice the local schools. We must only remark that from Naples to Venice all the higher development of art of the fourteenth century was more or less attributable to the influence of this great artist. Few individuals in the whole history of art have exercised such a power. As one of Giotto's contemporaries, however, may be mentioned Pietro Cavallini, the Roman, who flourished about the year 1340 ; he assisted Giotto in the execution of the Navicella at Rome, and executed the great mosaics on the façade of St. Paul, which, like most of his works, have perished.<sup>1</sup> His mosaics, however, of the Life of the Virgin on the wall of the choir tribune in S. Maria in Trastevere in Rome, have been preserved, and exhibit simple and, in part, excellent compositions of fine arrangement and careful execution. The Florentine illuminator, Don Sylvester (a Camaldolese monk, about 1350), may be best mentioned here. It is true he is more known by Vasari's praise than by his own works, though a few drawings cut out of a missal belonging to the Convent degli Angeli—formerly in the collection of Mr. Young Ottley of London, and in the Liverpool Institution—show that the illuminators of the school of Giotto were in no way behind the other artists in dignity and expression.

Properly speaking, Giovanni da Melano, though a pupil of Taddeo Gaddi, may be considered as a follower of Giotto. He flourished about the year 1365. His principal works are the paintings in the under-church of S. Francesco at Assisi, in the vault of the transept, on the right of the sepulchre ; these again represent the life of the Virgin ; also an altarpicture with Saints in the church of Ognissanti at Florence, over a deserted side-altar of the transept. In these works we find the grace of Taddeo not only improved, but accompanied by an expression of such peculiar sweetness and devoted earnestness, that perhaps the artist should rather be considered

<sup>1</sup> The mosaics on the wall above the choir tribune of St. Paul's, and those on the inner side of the Arch of Triumph, may have been the production of a contemporary of Cavallini's. They represent the Virgin and the Baptist on the one side, and St. Peter and St. Paul on the other. At all events, the influence of the Germanic style, as modified by the Tuscan school, is already decided.

as belonging to the second style of this period. His *Pietà*, also in the Florentine Academy, with the date 1365, is of peculiar mildness and softness.

The style which Giotto had introduced is displayed in its grandest development in some other works still existing, attributed in like manner to certain of his scholars and followers—an opinion which, however, has lately been shown to be ill-founded. The paintings which cover the walls and vault of the great chapter-hall (called the Chapel of the Spaniards<sup>1</sup>), in S. Maria Novella in Florence, may be mentioned first. The chapel was founded by a rich Florentine citizen, Mico Guidalotti, for the celebration of the then new and enthusiastically-received festival of Corpus Christi. The building was begun in 1322, and was adorned, as soon as completed, with the paintings in question, the subjects of which chiefly exhibit the triumph and glorification of the Catholic Church, as the festival itself had been instituted for a like object. A document, however, of the year 1355 proves that at that time a great part of the building in question was unfinished.<sup>2</sup>

On the altar wall opposite the windows is the subject of the Passion, here represented as that event upon which the Christian Church is especially founded, the perpetual remembrance of which the Corpus Christi Festival is intended to celebrate. The subjects are arranged above and on each side of the small apsis in a peculiar manner, being so contrived that the different movements and incidents are not separated from each other. On the left is the procession to Calvary, coming out of the city, and winding round the hill: windows and roofs are swarming with spectators. The Virgin, with the other women, is walking dejectedly behind the Saviour, who is turning round to her. Above, on the hill, is the Crucifixion, with the women in a grandly treated group on one side. The Virgin is not represented fainting, but looking up at the cross with a mixed

<sup>1</sup> Single groups from the paintings of the Spanish Chapel, in Kubbeil, *Studien*, etc., pl. 15–17, 19, 20, 22–25. Compare Mecatti: *Notizie stor. riguard. il Capitolo di S. Maria Novella*, p. 9, etc., extracts in Richa: *Notizie stor. delle Chiese Fiorentine*, t. iii. p. 83, etc.—Rumohr, *It. F.*, ii. 81, 97.—E. Förster, *Beiträge*, p. 174. [Outlines of the two principal pictures are given in Rosini's *Storia della Pittura Italiana*.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> See *Kunstblatt*, 1845, No. 94, p. 393.

expression of anguish and resignation. On the other side are horsemen, driving back the people, who fly in all directions; among them is a figure in a yellow mantle, perhaps Ahasuerus. Underneath, on the right of the apsis, is the descent of Christ into Hell. The forms of the patriarchs, which he has set free, are expressed grandly, and without any vehemence of impatience. The demons are lurking behind a door of rock, with every sign of fear. The triangular space of the groined roof, over the altar wall, contains the Resurrection: the two angels sitting on the sepulchre are beautifully drawn, but almost with Byzantine severity. The three Marys are solemn in mien and action. The corresponding triangle over the entrance contains the Ascension. Here the group of the adoring disciples and that of the sleeping guard are admirable. What is most remarkable, however, both here and in the subject of the Passion, is that conception of the Saviour which is peculiar to the Giotto school, and which points decidedly back to early Christian models. In striking contrast to the wrinkled gravity of the Byzantine type of Christ (which Cimabue even has retained in the Cathedral of Pisa), we here perceive a solemn and yet youthfully beautiful form of the mildest expression, partially undraped, and often only covered with a finely arranged mantle.

The paintings on the wall where the entrance is are partly destroyed, owing to the windows having been originally open, thus exposing them to the weather. According to Vasari, they represented the life of S. Domenico. The subject of the saint preaching is still to be discerned, as well as the resuscitation of a damsel, who turns with gestures of amazement to her mother.

The painting which adorns the left wall of the chapel (as seen from the entrance) contains an allegorical representation of the Wisdom of the Church. In the centre and upper part of the composition is St. Thomas Aquinas, who was considered the greatest philosopher of his time, and had been active in promoting the Corpus Christi festival, and who is here represented in the greater splendour from the circumstance of his canonization having taken place that very year, 1322. Besides this, it was the object of the Dominican order, here in the



grandest of their sacred edifices, so to represent the apotheosis of their favourite saint as to rival that by which St. Francis of Assisi was usually honoured. In contradistinction to that saint, who appears under the form of a mystical comparison with Christ, St. Thomas is here made to typify the dominion over this world's wisdom and knowledge. In other words, the teaching vocation of the Dominicans, as opposed to the contemplative vocation of the Franciscans, is here meant to be expressed. St. Thomas is seated in solemn tranquillity, beneath a rich Gothic canopy, holding a book, on which appears this Latin inscription from the Book of Wisdom (vii. 7, 8), "Wherefore I prayed, and understanding was given me: I called upon God, and the spirit of wisdom came to me. I preferred her before sceptres and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison of her." Angels hover above him; on each side are five seats, occupied by five prophets and evangelists. At his feet are three men with books, in crouching attitudes like vanquished slaves; they represent the most prominent heretics, Arius, Sabellius, and Averrhoes. In the lower part of the picture, before a long continued screen, there are fourteen allegorical female figures, each sitting under a Gothic canopy—light, slender forms with noble and pleasing countenances: they represent (beginning from the wall where the window is) civil law, ecclesiastical law, speculative theology, practical theology, the three Scriptural virtues—faith, hope, and charity—the seven liberal arts, arithmetic with the tablets, geometry with square and compass, astrology (astronomy) with the celestial globe, music with an organ, logic with a serpent<sup>1</sup> under her veil, rhetoric and grammar. At the feet of each of these personifications, seated a step lower, is a male figure—the portrait of some celebrated individual, whether of Pagan or Christian times, who had attained high excellence in that particular science or virtue. Profound reflection and enthusiastic inspiration are happily expressed in each of these figures, giving them a certain stamp of grandeur and tranquillity. The intellectual

<sup>1</sup> [In Rosini's engraving, a scorpion. See also his explanation of the figures, which, in some instances, appears to be more correct than that given above.—ED.]

head of Cicero, and the melancholy, contemplative countenance of Boethius, are both especially remarkable. On the triangular space of the groined roof, over these paintings, is represented the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the relation of which to the general subject is expressed in the inscription on the book which St. Thomas Aquinas holds. The scene occurs in an open gallery, while below, before the closed door, are standing a group of scoffers.

In the large painting just described the Church is represented in tranquil speculation; on the opposite wall, to the right of the entrance, she appears in her external activity. This composition is full of figures, and consists of an interesting series of distinct groups. In the lower part, to the left, there is a large, cathedral-like edifice, in the Italian Gothic style. It is, in fact, a representation of the cathedral of Florence, according to the original design, and is here to be understood as the symbol of the spiritual Church. Before it are seated a Pope and an Emperor, as the highest guardians of the Church, with ecclesiastical and temporal rulers near them,—solemn, dignified figures. Instead of the imperial globe, as customary, the Emperor is holding a death's head in his hand, as typical of the perishableness of all earthly power, when compared with that of the eternal Church. On each side groups of the faithful stand and kneel. These groups consist partly of celebrated men and women of the time, partly of the poor and infirm. The community of the faithful is also represented under the form of a flock of sheep feeding before the feet of the Pope, and guarded by two dogs. Further, to the right, is seen S. Domenico preaching against the heretics, and converting some of them. These are entreating pardon, and burning their books. Near him the flock is again introduced, but in this instance it is attacked by wolves, while the dogs defend it. The dogs are all spotted black and white, and thus allude to the dress of the Dominicans<sup>1</sup> (*Domini canes*), to whom the defence of the Church especially belongs. On the same side, higher in the picture, are represented the joys and errors of the world, dances and the like, and then the

<sup>1</sup> According to the legend, the mother of the saint, before his birth, dreamt that she brought forth a dog.

conversion and repentance of men fettered in earthly pursuits. Above the church is seen the door which leads to heaven: St. Peter opens it to the blessed, and permits them to enter into Paradise, where Christ appears in glory with choirs of angels on either side. The treatment of the whole picture is extremely animated; the costume, as was here required, is, throughout, that of the time, and in several of the heads there is a happy attempt at individuality. Many names of contemporary personages have been handed down, whose portraits are said to be in the picture. The painting on the triangular space above represents the ship of the Church on a stormy sea, the same composition which Giotto had executed in mosaic in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The masters to whom these paintings have been hitherto attributed are Taddeo Gaddi—who is said to have done the subjects on the ceiling and the side-wall where St. Thomas Aquinas presides—and Simone Memmi of Siena, who is said to have painted the rest.<sup>2</sup> The last supposition is obviously incorrect, nor can any portion beyond the St. Thomas be ascribed to Taddeo.

We now turn to a place which is important, above all others, in the history of the art of the fourteenth century, namely, the Campo Santo,<sup>3</sup> or cemetery, of Pisa, a space of about

<sup>1</sup> [The superior truth and vigour of drawing in this interesting composition—interesting the more from the loss of the original (v. p. 126)—are striking proofs of Giotto's power.—P.]

<sup>2</sup> [The large composition of the Church Militant, attributed to Simone Memmi, was formerly supposed to contain among its numerous portraits those of Petrarch and Laura. Lanzi, Cicognara, and others have doubted whether the figures in question were really intended to represent the poet and the lady he has celebrated. The portrait of Laura, which Simone painted, or drew, in Avignon after 1336, is alluded to in three of Petrarch's sonnets; and if the painter completed the works in the Spanish Chapel after his return (and not in 1332, as Lanzi asserts), he might very naturally have introduced the portraits of his friends. Unfortunately, however, the supposed Laura in the fresco does not at all resemble the miniature in the Laurentian MS., which was probably copied from the best authenticated likeness. German critics have gone further, and, from a comparison of this fresco with Simone's undoubted works, have even decided that it is not by his hand. Rosini, again (*Storia della Pittura*), adheres to the old tradition.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> C. Lasinio, *Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa* (smaller edition, at twelve scudi, subscription price), *Pitture a fr. del Campo S. di Pisa, disegnato da G. Rosi, ed incise dal Cav. G. P. Lasinio figlio*. Firenze. Compare Rosini's *Descrizione delle Pitture del Campo Santo di Pisa*.

four hundred feet in length, and one hundred and eighteen in width, enclosed by high walls, and surrounded on the inside with an arcade. On the east side is a large chapel; on the north, two smaller ones, and opposite to them on the south are the two entrances. This space is said to have been filled with earth brought from the Holy Land in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The building was erected in the course of the same century, by Giovanni Pisano, son of the before-mentioned Niccola. The whole of the walls from top to bottom were afterwards adorned with large paintings. The east chapel was painted in the commencement of the fourteenth century; of the works it contained, however, there are now no remains.

The most ancient of the existing paintings are those on the east wall, on the left in coming out of the chapel. They represent the Passion of Christ, his Resurrection, his Appearance before the Disciples, and Ascension; it appears that they were executed before the middle of the fourteenth century. A peculiar grand and imaginative character pervades the representation of the Passion; the others are serious and solemn, particularly where Christ appears to the disciples and they touch his wounds. The pictures are rude in execution, and are besides much painted over. They are ascribed to a certain Buonamico Buffalmacco, whose existence is however altogether doubtful, as the description of his life by Vasari is a mere tissue of whimsical stories. The large pictures which follow on the north wall are more important. They belong to the middle of the same century, and are the work of a profound and imaginative artist, who has succeeded in representing his conception of life and death in a painted poem, full of the deepest meaning, yet requiring neither symbol nor allegory to express the ideas contained in it, and the more effective from this direct union between the representation and its import. The mind of this artist rises indeed above Giotto, whose steps he followed, and might be compared to the poet of the *Divina Commedia*, were it not that the very subordinate degree of his technical cultivation places him far below the perfection of Dante's *terza-rima*. Andrea, son of the Florentine sculptor Cione, is supposed to be the author of these paintings. He flourished in the second half of the fourteenth century, and

died in 1399. He was also one of the best architects and sculptors of his time, and is generally known by his surname Orgagna, or Orcagna,—more correctly Arcagno, a corruption of Arcagnolo.

The first of these pictures is called the Triumph of Death. On the right is a festive company of ladies and cavaliers, who, by their falcons and dogs, appear to be returned from the chase. They sit under orange-trees, and are splendidly dressed; rich carpets are spread at their feet. A troubadour and singing-girl amuse them with flattering songs; *amorini* flutter around them and wave their torches. All the pleasures and joys of earth are here united. On the left, Death approaches with rapid flight—a fearful-looking woman, with wild streaming hair, claws instead of nails, large bat's-wings and indestructible wire-woven drapery. She swings a scythe in her hand, and is on the point of mowing down the joys of the company. A host of corpses closely pressed together lie at her feet; by their insignia they are almost all to be recognised as the former rulers of the world—kings, queens, cardinals, bishops, princes, warriors, &c. Their souls rise out of them in the form of new-born infants; angels and demons are ready to receive them; the souls of the pious fold their hands in prayer, those of the condemned shrink back in horror. The angels are almost like gay butterflies in appearance, the devils have the semblance of beasts of prey or of disgusting reptiles. They fight with each other: on the right, the angels ascend to heaven with those they have saved; while the demons drag their prey to a fiery mountain, visible on the left, and hurl the souls down into the flames. Next to these corpses is a crowd of beggars and cripples, who with outstretched arms call upon Death to end their sorrows: but she heeds not their prayer, and has already hastened away. A rock separates this scene from another, in which is a second hunting party, descending the mountain by a hollow path; here again are richly attired princes and dames on horses splendidly caparisoned, and a train of hunters with falcons and dogs. The path has led them to three open sepulchres in the left corner of the picture; in them lie the bodies of three princes, in different stages of decay. Close by, in extreme old age, and supported on











crutches, stands a monk,<sup>1</sup> who, turning to the princes, points down to this bitter "memento mori." They speak apparently with indifference of the circumstance, and one of them holds his nose from the horrible smell. One queenly lady alone, deeply moved, rests her head on her hand, her graceful countenance full of sorrow. On the mountain heights are several hermits, who, in contrast to the followers of the joys of the world, have attained, in a life of contemplation and abstinence, the highest term of human existence. One of them milks a doe, squirrels play about him; another sits and reads; and a third looks down into the valley, where the remains of the mighty are mouldering away. A tradition relates that among the distinguished personages in these pictures are many portraits of the artist's contemporaries.

The second representation is the Last Judgment. In the composition of this work a symmetrical and almost architectural severity prevails, which, however, produces a powerful general effect, and yet leaves room for varied and spirited *motives* in the detail. Above, in the middle, sit Christ and the Virgin in separate glories. He turns to the left, toward the condemned, while he uncovers the wound in his side, and raises his right arm with a menacing gesture; his countenance is full of majestic wrath. The Virgin, on the right of her Son, is the picture of heavenly mercy; and almost terrified at the words of eternal condemnation, she turns away, while her countenance and mien express only divine sorrow for the lost. On both sides sit the Fathers of the Old Testament, the Apostles and other Saints next to them, severe, solemn, dignified figures. Angels, holding the instruments of the Passion, hover over Christ and the Virgin: under them is a group of angels, in the strictest symmetrical arrangement, who summon the dead from their graves; two blow the trumpets, a third conceals himself in his drapery, shuddering at the awful spectacle. Lower down is the earth, where men are rising from the graves; armed angels direct them to the right and

<sup>1</sup> [Intended for St. Macarius (see Vasari, *Vita di Orgagna*); the legend corresponding with the subject here described is quoted in Douce's 'Dance of Death.' The first part of the allegory, with the peculiar female personification of Death, is evidently borrowed from Petrarch's '*Trionfo di Morte*.'—Ed.]

left. Here is seen Solomon, who whilst he rises seems doubtful to which side he should turn; here a hypocritical monk, whom an angel draws back by the hair from the host of the blessed; and a youth in secular costume, whom another angel leads away from the condemned to the opposite groups. The blessed and the condemned rise in thick crowds above each other on both sides; in the gestures of the latter are all the torments of despair, the flames of hell rage upon them, and demons already seize them by the drapery. It is said that there are many portraits of contemporaries among the blessed and condemned, but no circumstantial traditions have reached us. The attitudes of Christ and the Virgin were afterwards borrowed by Michael Angelo, in his celebrated Last Judgment, at Rome; but notwithstanding the perfection of his forms, he stands far below the dignified grandeur of the old master. Later painters have also taken his arrangements of the patriarchs and apostles as their model, particularly Fra Bartolomeo and Raphael.

The third representation, directly succeeding the foregoing, is Hell. It is said to have been executed from a design of Andrea, by his brother Bernardo; it is indeed inferior to the preceding representations in execution, and even in the composition, in which imagination degenerates into the monstrous. Hell is here represented as a great rocky caldron, divided into four compartments rising one above the other. In the midst sits Satan, a fearful armed giant—himself a fiery furnace—out of whose body flames arise in different places, in which sinners are consumed or crushed. Beside him, in the different compartments, serpents and demons torment the condemned. The whole lower part of the picture was badly painted over and altered, according to the taste of the day, in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

An opinion has been lately started that these paintings are not the work of Orcagna, as the execution does not correspond with that of his pictures preserved at Florence.<sup>2</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> The composition in its original state may be seen in an old engraving in Morrona's '*Pisa Illustrata*.'

<sup>2</sup> See E. Förster, *Beiträge*, p. 109, where, in support of this view, the freer but also ruder style of the pictures in the Campo Santo is compared with the finish and grace of those in S. Maria Novella.

Strozzi chapel in S. Maria Novella is an altar-piece, inscribed with his name and the year 1357; it represents Christ enthroned, with saints on either side—simple, solemn forms, full of expression. The walls of this chapel are also decorated with paintings by Andrea and his brother, the character of which is precisely similar to this altar-picture. The subjects resemble the last-mentioned at Pisa. On the wall where the window is, is the Last Judgment: Christ above, and at the sides of the window the choirs of saints, with the blessed and the condemned below. On the wall to the right is Paradise, severely and grandly composed, like the Last Judgment at Pisa. Above, on a Gothic throne, are seated Christ and the Virgin; below them hovers a choir of angels; on each side are endless rows of saints rising above each other, and between these side groups, in the lower part, are the figures of the blessed who are received into heaven. A noble, serene character pervades all these groups; the heads, almost without exception, are very graceful; the execution indicates an earnest effort to attain completeness. Perhaps these works, and those, so nearly allied in feeling, at Pisa, are by the same hand; the latter, which are at once freer and ruder in execution, may, in that case, have been earlier productions of the master. On the wall opposite the subject of Paradise, in the Strozzi chapel, is a representation of Hell, which is ascribed to Bernardo: this work is quite devoid of artist-like treatment; it is a mere map, which scrupulously follows Dante's arrangement of the compartments or *bolge* of the infernal regions.<sup>1</sup>

Among the works of Orcagna which no longer exist must be mentioned some which he is said to have executed in S. Croce at Florence, and which in their principal details were repetitions of the three in the Campo Santo.

Next to the picture of Hell, in the last-named place, it appears that Orcagna had intended to paint a Paradise (probably like that in the Strozzi chapel), as the termination of a grand cycle.<sup>2</sup> This design, however, was not executed; in its place is the Life of the Hermits in the Wilderness of the

<sup>1</sup> An outline is given in D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 119.

<sup>2</sup> [This would have completed what theologians call the "quatuor novissima" (the four last things), Death, Judgment, Hell, and Paradise.—ED.]

Thebais, by another hand; this may be considered as a continuation of the scene of the Hermits in the Triumph of Death. Vasari names the Sienese Pietro Laurati as the artist, but this appears to be a mistake for Pietro Laurentii, or son of Lorenzo. It is a well-filled picture, composed of a number of single groups, in which the calm life of contemplation is represented in the most varied manner. In front flows the Nile; a number of hermits are seen on its shores, who are still subjected to earthly occupation; they catch fish, hew wood, carry burthens to the city, etc. Higher up, in the mountain, where the hermits dwell in caves and chapels, they are more and more estranged from the concerns of the world. But the Tempter follows the spirit of man even into the wilderness; in various forms, sometimes frightful, sometimes alluring, he seeks to divert the pious from their holy employments; he appears but twice in his well-known serpent form; he is generally disguised as a disputing philosopher, a seducing woman, etc., but always to be recognised by his claw feet.<sup>1</sup> As a whole, this composition is constructed in the ancient mode (such as we find, for instance, in Byzantine art): several series of representations rise above each other, the upper and more distant being of equal size with the lower. The picture thus fails, as a matter of course, in perspective and general effect; but as the artist makes no pretension to this kind of excellence, the spectator is unconscious of the defect; the single representations, on the other hand, are executed with much grace and feeling. Some other well-accredited works of Pietro di Lorenzo will be mentioned elsewhere.

The picture just described adjoins the first entrance to the Campo Santo. Between it and the second are represented the history of S. Ranieri, the patron saint of Pisa, and those of S. Efeso and S. Potito.<sup>2</sup> Each of these consists of six compartments; three fill the upper, and three the lower half of the wall. The three upper ones, from the history of S. Ranieri, have been improperly ascribed to the before-mentioned Simone

<sup>1</sup> [The representations of the Tempter in early works of art are generally to be traced to classic sources; in this instance the *talons* may have been suggested by the form of the Sirens.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> [See the 'Acta Sanctorum,' Jan. v. l. pp. 753, 997.—ED.]

di Martino of Siena ; they are the work of a less gifted but clever mechanical artist, who painted some time between 1360 and 1370.<sup>1</sup> The three lower paintings were executed about 1386, by Antonio Veneziano, who appears to have had a far higher feeling for beauty and precision of form than the master who painted the first half.

The histories of S. Efeso and S. Potito (the lower half is almost entirely obliterated) were painted by Spinello of Arezzo, who flourished about the close of the fourteenth century. His works are distinguished by a peculiar and sometimes even grand severity and vehemence of conception ; they evince great talent, but are very unequal in execution, the greater part being extremely sketchy, and but few finished with spirit or feeling.<sup>2</sup> In the public palace at Siena, in the Sala de' Priori, this artist painted the disputes between the Emperor Frederick I. and Pope Alexander III., including the well-known humiliation of the Emperor—a subject which was obviously chosen from no interest in these particular persons, but to exhibit the views of church and state then entertained. In the sacristy of S. Miniato at Florence he painted the history of St. Benedict, a work which is particularly well preserved. These are in some respects highly intelligent compositions, full of meaning in action and expression. The white robes of the monks are treated in a severe and excellent style. Several scenes, for instance that of the dead monk, and of the same monk restored to life—the penance of the king, and the grief for the departed saint—belong, in point of conception, to the most spirited productions of the whole school of Giotto. The best of all is perhaps the Exorcism of the Devil, who is seated upon a stone, which the monks, with all the strength of their levers, are unable to move, till the saint, entering with great grandeur of gesture, pronounces the requisite anathema. The execution is slight even to rudeness.<sup>3</sup> The Fall of the rebellious Angels, one of his most beautiful

<sup>1</sup> E. Förster, *Beiträge*, p. 111, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, ii. 226, etc. ; E. Förster, *Beiträge*, p. 117, etc.

<sup>3</sup> [A Coronation of the Virgin (on wood), ascribed to him in the Sieneſe Academy, is however finished with great care, and exhibits qualities in the early artists rarely combined:—charming expression in heads, with variety and animation in the attitudes. The colouring is deep and harmonious ; rich brown and gold predominating.—P.]

compositions, painted in S. Maria degli Angeli at Arezzo, has been lately destroyed with this church.<sup>1</sup> When Spinello had finished this work, the devil appeared to him in the night,<sup>2</sup> as horrible and deformed as in the picture, and asked him where he had seen him in so frightful a form, and why he had treated him thus ignominiously. Spinello awoke from his dream with horror, fell into a state of abstraction, and soon after died.

We now return to the Campo Santo. On the third part of the south wall is represented the history of Job. These paintings were hitherto ascribed to Giotto, but are with greater probability the work of a certain Francesco da Volterra, who painted here in the years 1370-1372. This artist shows, as far as the present state of the paintings allows us to judge, a decided affinity to the style of Giotto.<sup>3</sup> A grand, copious, and animated treatment characterizes the whole work. The first subject, in which Jehovah surrounded by angels gives audience to Satan, is very dignified and beautiful. The irruption of the enemy on the possessions of Job is excellent, as well as the visit of his three friends and of Elihu. The expression, as conveyed by mien and gesture, is particularly happy; a power of imitation is also displayed in regard to the appearances of nature, and especially in the representation of animals. The arrangement generally bespeaks a cultivated feeling for the grand distribution of masses in a given space. These paintings are unfortunately much restored, and have been in part destroyed by the erection of sepulchral monuments.

The west wall exhibits only bad works of a later time. On the north wall are subjects from the Creation to the Deluge,<sup>4</sup> ascribed formerly to Buffalmacco, but now known to be the work of Pietro, son of Puccio of Orvieto. These paintings, executed in the last ten years of the fourteenth century, represent the First Person of the Trinity, bearing the Globe of

<sup>1</sup> This picture is engraved in Lasinio's *Specimens of Old Florentine Masters*.

<sup>2</sup> [The story is Vasari's.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> E. Förster, *Beiträge*, p. 113, etc.

<sup>4</sup> [Some of these, as usual, are apocryphal; for example, the Death of Cain. For a description of this subject, as represented by the early Italian painters, see Comestor, *Hist. Scholastica*, Gen. c. 28; Höttinger, *Hist. Orientalis*, p. 24, gives its source.—Ed.]



THE FALL OF JACOBY by F. V. COLEMAN. London: Arnold, 1965. 160 pp.







THE MISFORTUNES OF JOB a drawing by Francesco da Volterra in the Campo Santo at Pisa





SCENE FROM THE HISTORY OF JOB, a Fresco in the Campo

Santo at Pisa, by Francesco da Volterra

page 152.



the World; the Creation of Man; the Fall and its consequences; the Death of Abel, the Death of Cain, and the Déluge: they evince a serious feeling in holy subjects, and, at the same time, a cheerful, natural treatment of the circumstances of life. They are also remarkable for technical merits, particularly for an harmonious arrangement of colour. A Coronation of the Virgin, on the same wall, over the door of the second chapel, is also by this artist: little more than the design is now visible, in which, however, a grand and enthusiastic character is still to be recognised.<sup>1</sup>

Political circumstances hindered the progress of the works in the Campo Santo. It was not till the second half of the fifteenth century that the embellishments were continued. To these later works we shall return.

Niccola di Pietro, a Florentine, and one of the most remarkable painters of his time, was employed in Pisa about the same period as the artist last mentioned.<sup>2</sup> In 1390 he painted the subjects of the Passion, in nine compartments, on the walls of the chapter-hall of the cloisters of S. Francesco. These paintings are unfortunately much injured, but even in their remains we can trace a high degree of excellence. A solemn serenity, a peculiar pathos pervade all these representations, and show that the deepest meaning of his subject was present to the artist's mind; we find in them besides a high sense of beauty, and the expression of an intense feeling, which, as in Giovanni da Melano, already belongs to the second general style of this period. Pre-eminently beautiful is the representation of Christ in the Resurrection, and still more so in the Ascension; there is something wonderfully dignified, holy, and glorified in the features of the Saviour, which has perhaps never since been equalled. Niccola also painted a hall in the Franciscan monastery at Prato, from

<sup>1</sup> [The name of Pietro di Puccio d'Orvieto represents an epoch in the technical history of painting. His works, above mentioned, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, are considered, on good grounds, to be the earliest examples of fresco-painting properly so called. See E. Förster, *Beiträge*, p. 220. For a description of the imperfect fresco-painting previously, and perhaps anciently, in use, see Eastlake's *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, 1847, p. 142.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> E. Förster, *Beiträge*, p. 187, etc.; Lasinio, *Raccolta di Pitture Antiche*, Pisa, 1820.

the personal history of St. Matthew, but these works are not equal to his former ones. At Florence, on the right side wall of the sacristy of Santa Croce, are representations of the Passion, probably (with the exception of the older central picture) by the same artist, but painted before those at Pisa, to the finished beauty of which they are very inferior.

The artist develops here rather the general type of the school than any particular expression. In the sleeping guards, however, there is a correspondence between the expression of their countenances and their modes of sleeping, which is very characteristic.

The latest Florentine in whom the tendency of Giotto is obvious is Lorenzo di Bicci, who lived about the middle of the fifteenth century, and repeated the types of that school with a certain mediocrity of manner, but still with an agreeable simplicity and mildness of expression. There are frescoes by him in the Loggia of S. Maria Nuova in Florence, representing the consecration of that church by Pope Martin V., 1420; also in the cathedral, beneath the windows of the transept, representing apostles and saints. A picture on wood in the gallery of the Uffizj, ascribed to the same Lorenzo di Bicci, shows rather a more individual tendency in the manner of his contemporary Fiesole.

A retrospect of the Florentine school exhibits to us the genius of its founder, Giotto, in its true greatness. We have now advanced a century since Giotto's first appearance as a painter, and even his greatest followers, Orcagna and Spinello, have not essentially progressed beyond the limits which he reached. *His* mode of viewing life—*his* conception of forms—pervades their works; and great and rich as these works may be, they are only an additional testimony to the influence which Giotto exercised over this period.<sup>1</sup> All that is new in the productions of his successors is chiefly confined to that beauty of heads and mildness of expression which begins with the Gaddi, and finds its highest development in Orcagna's Paradise. In

<sup>1</sup> Rumohr, in his *Ital. Forsch.*, vol. ii. p. 400, endeavours to show that this slowness of development was owing to those associations in which artists formerly united themselves, and especially to the long-protracted dependence of the pupil upon the master.

other masters it already degenerates into insipidity. This aim, however, in no way affects the spirit of the school, nor diminishes the characteristic and dramatic animation for which it is distinguished.

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## CHAPTER II.

### TUSCAN SCHOOLS.—SIENESE MASTERS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

In the first general tendency of art at the period when the *subjective* mode of conception prevailed—a mode which may be compared with didactic poetry—we observe a number of new and peculiar representations, or at least a new treatment of old subjects. Not so in the second tendency; in it the feelings of the creating artist predominate, and for this reason we should compare it with lyric poetry. The feelings, the inward energies of the soul, need no forms of varied character in order to manifest themselves in external appearance; they have no essential connection with the phenomena of life in its multifarious peculiarities and relations; their expression extends indeed to the surface of outward form, but has no necessary dependence on it.

Thus, as the proximate result of this general law, we find many of the *motives* of the preceding period, those especially which were derived from the early Christian modes of representation, preserved in the second tendency of this time; they were retained not merely because no desire was felt to abandon them, but because their ideality and abstract grandeur afforded scope for the expression of a predominant feeling on the part of the artist. Nevertheless, instead of the peculiar severity and hardness of the Byzantine manner, which, as we have seen, had been already considerably modified by Duccio, we find the softer style of Giotto adopted. This change was the more natural, as it allowed a fuller expression of that enthusiastic sentimentality which characterized the tendency in question, not only in imitative art, but in all the lyric poetry of the time.

Among the Sieneese particularly this style was developed



to peculiar beauty.<sup>1</sup> Its chief representative is Simone di Martino (improperly called Simone Memmi), a contemporary of Giotto, after whose death he was invited to the papal court at Avignon, in 1336, where he is said to have died in 1344. It is worthy of remark, and seems more than mere accident, that the reputation of Giotto is preserved by the epic-didactic Dante, and that of Simone by the great lyric poet of medieval Italy—Petrarch—in two of his sonnets. Of the genuine works of Simone, it is true, not many are known: the large compositions which, according to Vasari, he painted in the chapter-house of S. Maria Novella<sup>2</sup> at Florence, and in the Campo Santo at Pisa, are certainly by another hand; however, the little that does remain, by him, is sufficient to characterize him with tolerable accuracy.

The principal work is a large altarpiece, originally consisting of a series of single pictures, which, it appears, are dispersed in different places in Siena; the middle picture contains a Madonna and Child, and is inscribed with the name of the artist; the side panels represent numerous figures of prophets and saints. "The conception in the whole of these

<sup>1</sup> Here we must mention Ugolino da Siena, who died in 1339, at an advanced age. Of his only authentic work, the High Altar of S. Croce at Florence, the most important compartments (half-length figures of saints with small scenes of the Passion, forming the predella pictures) were taken, in 1835, in Mr. Ottley's since dispersed collection. (See Waagen's *Kunstw. und Künstler in England*, vol. i. p. 393.) The style of these portions forms the transition from the severer manner of Duccio, which inclines to the Byzantine, to the softer feeling of Simone di Martino. In the middle saint the Byzantine element is most discernible, while, especially in the scenes of the Passion, fuller forms, freer action, and lighter treatment of colour are observable. Two other works are associated with a similar name, though it is not in our power to identify it as that of Ugolino da Siena. The one—the silver shrine "del Santo Corporale," in the Cathedral at Orvieto—contains, in twelve paintings in enamel (see D'Agincourt, plate 123), the history of the founding of the Corpus Christi Festival, and was executed by Ugolino Vieri, a goldsmith of Siena, who, as a painter, appears to have been but moderately gifted. The other—the frescoes in the choir of the same cathedral—is ascribed to Ugolino di Prete Ilario. They represent the Glory of the Trinity, the life of the Virgin, the prophets, apostles, and fathers of the Church, with forty popes and bishops in half-length figures. A decided opinion could be only attained by a comparison of the three works.

<sup>2</sup> [See the Editor's note, p. 144. Notwithstanding his friendship for Simone, Petrarch seems to have had a still higher admiration for Giotto: this appears from the terms in which he bequeaths a work by that painter as a valued possession, to Francesco Vecchio di Carrara, the sovereign of Padua.—Ed.]





"Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing"  
 CHRIST FOUND IN THE TEMPLE: a picture by Simon de Martens, in the  
 Royal Institution, Liverpool page 157

works is far more solemn, deep, and impressive than is usually found among the Florentines: repose, dignity, majesty—in one word, holiness speaks in every form and movement. A feeling for beauty and delicacy of feature is predominant, while the heads are ideal throughout; the drawing is decided, but not without defects. There is no approach to rotundity, properly speaking, yet the masses of light and shade are separated, and are made to assist the expression.”<sup>1</sup> The execution of this painting is singularly delicate; the carnation (in which a greenish under-tint prevails) is most carefully finished; the hair so fine as to appear drawn rather than painted; we observe likewise a profusion of rich ornaments, and particularly pearls and precious stones, executed with the greatest care and neatness.

The same depth of expression and peculiarities of execution prevail in a large picture of a Madonna surrounded by saints, which was originally painted on the walls of the judgment-hall of the public palace at Siena by an old master, and was restored, or rather painted anew, by Simone about 1330. Unfortunately, it has in later times been rudely repaired. There are, however, some other pictures at Siena which may be ascribed with great probability to Simone.

There is also an Annunciation in the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, painted with the same refined and deep feeling. It is inscribed with the year 1333; beside the name of Simone there appears also that of a certain Lippo Memmi, a relation, who assisted him in the picture. They are also said to have executed other works together.

A beautiful little picture, with the name of the master and the date 1342, is now in the Liverpool Institution.<sup>2</sup> It represents the Virgin and Joseph with the youthful Saviour, at that passage, “Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.” The figures are of the intensest and most touching expression, and the execution of the utmost delicacy that

<sup>1</sup> E. Förster, Beiträge, p. 166, etc. The paintings of the altar-piece in question were first discovered by the author just quoted.

<sup>2</sup> See Waagen, Kunstw. und Künstler in England, vol. ii. p. 390. In the Crypt of St. Peter's at Rome (the so-called *Grotte Vaticane*) is the altar-picture of the chapel of S. Maria del Portico (a half-length Madonna), also by Simone.

the period was capable of. A miniature-like little picture in the Berlin Museum, the Virgin nursing the Infant Christ, is also of the highest grace and beauty. On the other hand, in a large Madonna picture, as in all the larger pictures by this master, the long, half-closed eyes are disagreeably conspicuous.

A beautiful miniature illumination, which adorns a manuscript Virgil in the Ambrosian library at Milan, also bears the name of Simone.<sup>1</sup> It represents Virgil and the various species of his poetry personified. The delicate modelling, fine fusion, and careful drapery of the twelve last miniatures in an illuminated Bible in the Royal Library at Paris, characterize them as the work of Simone, probably executed during his residence at Avignon.

Lastly, the account which Vasari gives of some works of Simone, which no longer exist, corroborates the above description of the peculiar character of this master's style. It is almost always in Madonnas, generally surrounded with angels and saints, that the feeling alluded to expresses itself most decidedly. In a representation of the Passion in the chapter-house of S. Spirito at Florence, Vasari speaks very emphatically of the beauty and depth of feeling in the angels.<sup>2</sup>

An excellent picture by Lippo Memmi alone is in possession of Hofrath F. Förster, in Berlin. It is a domestic altarpiece, containing the Virgin and Child. The infant Saviour is leaning upon his mother with a childlike but thoughtful action, while she, with pensively inclined head, is looking earnestly forward. The beauty of the motives, especially of the very fine drapery, the delicate and at the same time decided making out of the forms, and, above all, the depth both of the intensest religious and of the noblest human expression, such as is seldom observable among the Florentine artists, makes this picture one of the most attractive of this school. It is inscribed with the name of the artist.

<sup>1</sup> [Engraved in Rosini's *Storia della Pittura*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [Vasari's words hardly seem to warrant the author's observation, as far as the angels are concerned. To the above list of Simone's works may be added his fresco in the portico of the Cathedral at Avignon, vestiges of which are still said to exist: for a description of the subject, see Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi*, vol. ii. p. 94.—Ed.]

Other Sienese artists followed the style and aim so decidedly apparent in the productions of Simone, as appears from the works ascribed to the already-mentioned Pietro di Lorenzo. With these may be classed an altar-picture in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, inscribed with the year 1340, and the name of the artist. It represents a Madonna and Child, with angels on each side—grand, severe forms, with beautiful expressive countenances. There is another picture by Pietro Lorenzo in a side chamber of the sacristy of the Duomo at Siena.<sup>1</sup>

The allegorical style founded by Giotto is also to be recognised in this school, singularly developed and united with the peculiarities of the Sienese school.

In this class are the paintings which Andrea di Lorenzo, brother of Pietro, executed in the public palace at Siena, and in the Sala delle Balestre. The subject, a very characteristic one in the history of the states of Italy, is Good and Bad Government and their consequences. On the principal wall, opposite to the windows, the Emperor is seated on a high throne, as the representative of infallible power.<sup>2</sup> On each side of the throne sit three allegorical female figures—Prudence, Courage, and Peace; Magnanimity, Temperance, and Justice—beautiful, serene, solemn forms; over the Emperor hover Faith, Charity, and Hope. In these, and the succeeding allegorical figures, we especially recognise the Sienese manner, which, with a resemblance to Byzantine art, also preserves an affinity to the antique.<sup>3</sup> Pre-eminent in beauty is the goddess of Peace, gentle in mien, with noble features, the olive-branch in her hair; tranquilly resting her head on one hand, she reposes on a couch; her white drapery falls in a thousand folds over her beautiful limbs, without concealing them, as in figures on antique sarcophagi; the mild, expressive countenance alone reminds us that we look upon a work of modern art. Below the Emperor is a procession of citizens and knights coming from the right, where a female figure

<sup>1</sup> Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, ii. 106.

<sup>2</sup> This distinction between the Emperor and the Government itself is founded on the peculiar position of the states of Italy in the Middle Ages.

<sup>3</sup> Compare E. Förster, *Beiträge*, p. 182, etc.

representing Good Government sits enthroned. Town and country are enjoying the fruits of a wise and beneficent administration; buyers and sellers are in the market and streets; dances and merrymakings are seen going on within the town, and without the gates is a flourishing and well-cultivated country, with peasants engaged in tillage and in gathering the harvest. This attempt, however, at a characteristic conception of common life is not satisfactory. On the left wall Bad Government is represented enthroned; Avarice, Violence, and Vainglory hover over her; Cruelty, Treachery, Deceit, Rage, &c., are at her side. The effects of such government are given, though, unfortunately, but little of the work is now to be discerned. Citizens are led forth prisoners from their homes—others are murdered in the streets, and the fields lie uncultivated.

'In the second half of the fourteenth century a certain Berna or Barna,' characterized by the same general qualities, flourished among the Sienese. A crucifix with saints by him is in the cathedral of Arezzo. Others of his works, scenes, apparently, from the life of Christ, are still preserved on the right wall of the church of S. Gemignano, a small town between Florence and Siena. His paintings in the Tabernacle of the Lateran at Rome contain some fine motives, but are greatly overpainted.

The prevailing mode of conception, so remarkable for depth of feeling, appears to great advantage in another Sienese, Taddeo di Bartolo, whose accredited works belong to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The earliest of these are at Perugia, where the artist is said to have employed his talents for a considerable time. An altarpiece (inscribed with the painter's name and the date 1403), now preserved in the Academy, deserves especial mention: it represents a Madonna and Child, with two angels and St. Bernard—majestic figures, with draperies in a good style, and with a depth of expression that fascinates: the countenance of the Madonna is especially pleasing and graceful. In the same collection are two pictures, each with four saints, very dignified and beautiful, but not so striking as the figures in

<sup>1</sup> Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, vol. ii. p. 109.

the last-mentioned example. In the left transept of the church of S. Agostino at Perugia there is a picture of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, an admirable work, the style of which perfectly corresponds with the other productions of this master.

An Annunciation in the Sienese Academy, though a pleasing picture, is not equal to the specimens at Perugia. Several not very important pictures are in the Louvre at Paris.<sup>1</sup> The paintings on the walls of the chapel of the Palazzo della Signoria at Siena, executed in 1407, are much more important: they consist of some scenes from the life of the Virgin. A peculiar refinement and a deep sincerity of feeling characterize all these works: the solemn funeral procession of the Virgin, her burial, and the descent of Christ to raise her to eternal life, are all very beautifully and touchingly represented. The chapel is unfortunately very dark, so that a favourable day is necessary to see the paintings even tolerably well. Later, in 1414, Taddeo painted a hall annexed to the chapel, in which he represented a series of imaginary portraits of the celebrated orators, statesmen, and heroes of antiquity. These works are, however, of inferior merit; the subject itself, which belongs essentially to the didactic style before referred to, was little adapted to the peculiar feeling of the individual.

Domenico di Bartolo, the nephew or brother of Taddeo, was an artist of less note. His frescoes in the Hospital della Scala at Siena (1440), representing the works of Mercy, are slight and insipid. A large Assumption in the Museum at Berlin shows, it is true, a certain antique grandeur of arrangement in the colossal, solemn figure of the Virgin, while, on the other hand, the frequently ordinary and unideal character of the heads, and the heavy, fantastic arrangement of the drapery of the numerous angels, are unmistakeable evidences of the fifteenth century. The ideal head of the Virgin is devoid of expression, and without any high purity of form. The mode of painting is coarse, and, in some portions, even rude.

<sup>1</sup> We take this opportunity, once for all, to repeat the old complaint of the incredible carelessness with which the pictures in the Louvre (as far as regards the earlier masters) have been named. In the following pages we shall adopt the decisions of Waagen on this subject.



The works of Taddeo at Perugia appear to have produced many imitators, both there and in its neighbourhood; this is evident from the style of some paintings still existing in different places at Assisi.

This prevailing bland character, and the adherence to ancient modes of representation, pervade the productions of the Sienese artists throughout the whole of the fifteenth century. In other respects, however, Art seems to have retrograded in Siena during this period in a striking degree; almost all the works of the time bear the stamp of feebleness and indecision. This is the same case which we see repeated in the later school of Perugia, where, a certain expression of soul having become the chief aim, the narrow circle of appropriate subjects was soon exhausted, and, after a time, the mere outward forms were mechanically and emptily reproduced. Among the masters who distinguished themselves from the rest, in a slight degree, were the brothers Sano and Lorenzo di Pietro, who flourished about the middle of this century. To these may be added Matteo di Giovanni, or Matteo da Siena, by whom there is a picture of a gentle, tranquil character, dated 1479, in S. Domenico at Siena; it represents three female saints, and, in the lunette above, a dead Christ. Matteo forms the transition to the natural style of the Florentines, but surpasses them in his later works, executed at Naples. His celebrated Massacre of the Innocents, which he twice painted (one being in S. Agostino at Siena, the other in the Museum at Naples), is a very mannered production, with few features of real power, and for the most part in an exaggerated style.

At the close of this group we introduce two masters who, it is true, belonged almost exclusively to Florence, but so combined the intensity of expression and the idealising aim of the Sienese school with the conception of form belonging to the Florentine, that the first may be almost said to be predominant in their works. Both, although contemporary with the great innovations of Masaccio, adhered in essential points to the types of the fourteenth century.

The one is the Camaldolese monk, Don Lorenzo, called Il Monaco, who resided in the monastery *degli Angeli* at Flo-

rence. His chief work, 1414, is an altarpiece in the abbey of Cerreto, not far from Certaldo.<sup>1</sup> The subject is a Coronation of the Virgin, surrounded with angels, and with several rows of kneeling saints upon a gold ground. The Predella pictures contain an Adoration, and on each side the acts of St. Benedict. The execution is very careful, the colouring clear and harmonious, but the nude very defective, and the drapery slight and conventional. In the Predella pictures there is much to remind us of Taddeo Gaddi and Spinello. In the landscape background, also, and in the more real and natural conception of the subjects, we see a compliance with the style of the fifteenth century, though the principal picture still retains the old and solemn arrangement of a more ideal school. An Annunciation in S. Trinità at Florence exhibits, it is true, that widely adopted form of composition which had almost become a type of the subject, but departs from it in the soft mode of execution, and in the tender and mild expression of the heads. The pictures of the Predella are similar in conception and subject. A Descent from the Cross in the Florentine Academy, and other pictures, are of less importance.

With all the religious and spiritualising tendency of Lorenzo, the new direction in art of the fifteenth century is still sufficiently obvious in his works—for example, in the positive and domestic character of some of the last-mentioned Predella pictures. It is in a younger contemporary of his that the spiritualising tendency is seen in its purest form, namely, in the well-known Dominican monk, Beato Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole, born about 1387, died 1455. Of his education as an artist nothing certain is known; Lorenzo only may be supposed to have contributed to it. Some peculiarities also in his mode of colouring, particularly the greenish undertint of the carnation, betray the immediate influence of the Sienese school.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Kunstblatt*, 1840, No. 2: Notice of Lorenzo, by Gaye.

<sup>2</sup> [Whatever Angelico may have owed to Siena, he is more decidedly the consummation of early Florentine tendencies. The glorified sweetness and intensity of his heads are prefigured—sometimes almost attained—in such works as Orcagna's "Paradise" of the Strozzi Chapel, a conception of colour and of expression similar to Fiesole's to yet earlier times. Giotto again furnished him with many types for the smaller panel works: now (1854) ruined in the Accademia by the coarsest reparations. And his graceful and finished

The greater part of Fiesole's life was spent in the monastery of St. Mark at Florence: he lies buried at Rome, where the effigy upon his monument bespeaks the entire peacefulness of heart which pervaded his whole character. The great piety, to which his life and works equally bear testimony, obtained for him the surnames of the Blessed (Beato) and Angelic (Angelico).<sup>1</sup> According to Vasari, he might have lived at ease, and secured wealth as well as honour by his art, which he well understood even in his youth; but for the sake of his peace and tranquillity, and particularly for the benefit of his soul, he preferred to enter the order of S. Domenico. He never painted for money, but willingly satisfied any application for his works if his Superior permitted him; he was so humble, so little desirous of honours, that when Pope Nicholas V. wished to confer on him the archbishopric of Florence on account of his holy life, he prayed the pontiff to appoint another, as he did not feel himself called to a situation of authority. He never began his work without prayer; and so entirely did his subject fill his soul, that he was frequently interrupted by tears when representing the sufferings of the Redeemer. Hence he considered what he had painted as a special gift from Heaven, and never ventured to improve it.

This profound serenity of feeling, this pure and holy frame of mind, this confiding devotedness, form the never-failing characteristics of Fra Giovanni's works. He knew nothing of human anxieties, of struggle with passion, of victory over it; it is a glorified and more blessed world which he endeavours to reveal to our view. He seeks to invest the forms he places before us with the utmost beauty his hand could lend them; the sweetest expression beams in all their countenances; an harmonious grace guides all their movements, particularly where the action is expressed by the treatment of the drapery.

accessories, lastly—alien from the Sienese school—are a connecting feature between human life as treated by his fellow Florentine artists and this great Idealist.—P.]

<sup>1</sup> [The author seems to imply that these designations were equally accidental, but the beatification of a holy person was an honour solemnly conferred by the Church, and only inferior to canonization. Lausi is more correct in calling Fra Giovanni "un Beato dell' Ordine Domenicano." See also Fra Serafino Razzi (*Vite de' Santi e Beati del Sacro Ordine de' Predicatori*), quoted by Baldinucci.—Ed.]





JUDAS RECEIVING THE MONEY.





CONVIRGO CONCHIEI 3 PARIT PLUMZ VOCABE NOMIN EIVS MANVA VSA VALL



CONVIRGO INVIROZ VABIS FILIVZ VOCABIS NOMEN TIBI PLUMZ VOCABE

34

THE ANNUNCIATION by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary. The angel Gabriel is on the left, kneeling and speaking to the Virgin Mary on the right, who is kneeling in prayer. The scene is set in a room with Gothic arches and a window in the background.







THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, by Ang'lico da Pesole, one of the panel compartments  
from the presses formerly in the SS. Annunziata page 163

The most cheerful colours, like spring flowers, are selected for the draperies, and a profusion of golden ornaments is lavished over the whole: every auxiliary has been employed that could give a new glory to these holy subjects. With a peculiar religious awe he adheres scrupulously to traditional types, and ventures on none of the innovations which were already introduced into art at Florence; these would have been a disturbing element to the childlike serenity of his mind. Of all artists, Fiesole, as we have already observed, is the most perfect example of this style, but in him likewise it appears most decidedly in all its restrictedness. He is inimitable in his representations of angels and glorified saints—weak, timid, and embarrassed when he introduces man in his human nature. Not merely the rancour and hatred of the foes of Christ, but all determined action, is feebly expressed: his figures, even when in momentary repose, are deficient in apparent power to act, though the act to be performed may be the highest and the holiest; thus his representations of Christ, in whose form human power and divine sanctity should be equally prominent, are everywhere unsatisfactory, frequently unworthy. These faults are the result of a defective knowledge of the organization of the human body, the lower limbs of which are generally destitute both of that truth of action and position which Giotto especially had attained. Fiesole's first efforts are said to have been in miniature illuminations, in which art he is supposed to have been instructed by an elder brother. Vasari also speaks in praise of some missals embellished with miniatures by him. Those, however, which are preserved in the choir of St. Mark's at Florence are not by himself, but by that same elder brother, Benedetto da Mugello, prior of the Dominicans in Fiesole (who died 1448); they were executed perhaps under his direction.

The best of his small panel pictures, of which he executed a great number, are collected in the gallery of the Florentine Academy. The most remarkable are eight, containing thirty-five scenes from the life of Christ; these were formerly upon the silver presses in which the church-plate was kept in the convent library of the Serviti (SS. Annunziata) at Florence. They are executed with the greatest delicacy, and are almost

all in good preservation.<sup>1</sup> Some very graceful pictures of the same kind are in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence: for instance, a very beautiful Coronation of the Virgin. A whole collection of the works of this master is preserved in the sacristy of S. Domenico at Perugia. They consist of the small frame-work pictures of an altar-piece now taken to pieces, representing the Madonna and four saints. Two small circular pictures, which together form an Annunciation, are of especial beauty; both the figures are of the purest expression, and admirably arranged in the space. A Predella in the Vatican, containing the life of St. Nicolas of Bari, exhibits also the happy nature of this artist in the department of semi-historical *genre*, which he treats with the utmost naïveté, and with miniature-like elegance of handling. The charming treatment also of the accessories, namely, of the architectural vistas, almost reminds us of Flemish works. A most lovely Madonna upon a throne, surrounded with angels, is now in the Städcl Institution at Frankfort. In the sacristy of S. Maria Novella in Florence three reliquaries, exquisitely adorned by Fiesole's hand, are kept; they represent the birth of Christ, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the Glorification of the Virgin. Portions of a Predella are in the collection of the late M. Valentini, formerly Prussian consul at Rome; and other small pictures are strewn over the whole of Europe. The Last Judgment is a subject which Fiesole often treated, and most elaborately in that picture now in the Florentine Academy. Christ, with the right hand raised, is seated enthroned in a circle of the most graceful angels. The Blessed, seen below, have the intensest beauty of expression, while that of the condemned degenerates somewhat into a grimace. Paradise consists of a graceful dance of angels and the blessed upon a green meadow. Hell is treated too much in a ludicrous style. Another Last Judgment, with wings containing the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, is in the Corsini Gallery at Rome. Here we perceive a great richness of expression and beauty of drapery; the rapture of the blessed is told chiefly by their embraces and

<sup>1</sup> Nocchi of Florence has published outlines of these, traced from the originals.





CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN AND MIRACLES OF ST. DOMENIC

A picture by Ambroge da Piccolo now in the Louvre

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by their attitudes of prayer and praise. It is a remarkable feature, and one indicative of this master, that the ranks of the condemned are entirely filled by monks. A third, and highly celebrated representation of the same subject was formerly in Cardinal Fesch's gallery at Rome;<sup>1</sup> a fourth, of larger dimensions, and only partially by Fiesole's hand, is in the Museum at Berlin.

Among the pictures of a larger size may be mentioned a very graceful Coronation of the Virgin,<sup>2</sup> formerly in S. Domenico at Fiesole, at present in the Museum at Paris.—A Deposition from the Cross, the subject treated with dignity, which was formerly in the sacristy of S. Trinità at Florence, now in the Academy of that city.—A large tabernacle in the gallery of the Uffizj, the doors painted inside and out with saints larger than life. On the centre is represented a very grand Madonna, surrounded with beautiful angels on the margin. Yet, solemn and dignified as these large figures are in their general effect, they are deficient in correctness of drawing; the artist was still a stranger to the accurate study of living form—a deficiency less observable in his smaller works. But the large compositions with which he adorned the cloisters of his order at Florence (St. Mark) show a great improvement in this respect, or perhaps the greater firmness of execution conceals the defect. At all events, the mind of this noble and amiable artist is best understood in these works, which are preserved in the situations for which they were designed, where they still serve their original purpose. In the chapter-hall he painted a crucifix, before which a number of saints are worshipping. Wonder, sorrow, and ecstasy are expressed as they gaze upwards at the crucified Saviour. In point of religious expression, this is one of the most beautiful works of art existing, and we may fairly quote it as a *chef-d'œuvre* of the master. Other pictures by him still exist in the court and upper corridors of the monastery, among which a very beautiful Annunciation, and a Madonna surrounded by

<sup>1</sup> [Now in Lord Ward's collection. On the previous vicissitudes and acknowledged merits of this picture, see Speth, *Die Kunst in Italien*, 1819, vol. i. p. 214, note; and vol. iii. p. 133.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Mariä Krönung und die Wunder des heiligen Domenico nach Johann von Fiesole*; gez. von W. Ternite, mit Text von A. W. von Schlegel.

saints, are particularly distinguished: he also adorned the cells of the friars with various edifying representations. All of these in the monastery of St. Mark are in good preservation. In the chapel of the Madonna di S. Brizio, in the cathedral at Orvieto, one of the noblest monuments of Italian art, the upper part of the hinder wall, and a compartment of the vaulting, are adorned by Fiesole, 1447. The wall contains Christ as the Judge of the world, surrounded by the loveliest angelic forms; the Saviour is similar in action to that by Orcagna, but without the same lofty expression of divine wrath. On the vaulting are seen the prophets, one behind the other, in a pyramidal group, chiefly venerable forms, full of dignity and beauty, in splendidly arranged drapery on a gold ground. This subject is like a vision of heavenly glory. The other frescoes of this chapel relating to the Last Judgment, masterpieces of Benozzo Gozzoli and L. Signorelli, we shall consider later. In Rome, whither Fiesole was invited at a later period, 1446, he painted two chapels in the Vatican, of which but one, containing the history of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen in five pictures, is preserved.<sup>1</sup> Though not entirely equalling those in St. Mark, these pictures contain some exquisite details, especially in the life of St. Stephen. They are greatly restored.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### SCHOOLS OF UPPER ITALY.

In Upper Italy, as in Tuscany, a new tendency in art commenced with the fourteenth century. Coeval with the forms of the Germanic style we now observe the expression of the feelings, a greater or less animation of the figures, and a totally new and dramatic mode of treatment. The first appearances of these novelties in art may be considered as local and independent developments. Soon, however, the influence of Giotto began to act upon them, impelling the schools of

<sup>1</sup> Le pitture della Cappella di Nicolo V., opere del Beato Gio. Ang. da Fiesole, dis. ed inc. da Fr. Giangiacomo. Roma, 1810.—See D'Agincourt, plate 145.



ST. LAWRENCE, a woodcut by Zupico da Bassano in the Vatican Chapel of Nicolas V







ST STEPHEN PREACHING; a fresco by Angelico da Fiesole, in the  
Vatican Chapel of Nicolas V.



Upper Italy to efforts on which the impress of his mind is clearly exhibited.

An originally independent school presents itself first of all in Bologna. Here the transition from Byzantine restraint to a certain freedom of nature was effected by that Franco Bolognese mentioned in Dante's *Purgatorio* (xi. 83). A Madonna by the hand of this painter, with the date 1313, still exists in the Ercolani Palace at Bologna. The same hand is seen in the vignettes of a Justinian Codex of Bolognese origin, now in the Royal Library at Paris. A peculiar delicacy of conception and treatment, though combined with figures of great stiffness, appears in the remains of some ancient paintings saved from the walls of suppressed convents, and now in the Campo Santo at Bologna. In the first half of the fourteenth century flourished the Bolognese Vitale, who obtained the surname "*dalle Madonne*" from his pictures of the Virgin, which were of peculiar beauty.<sup>1</sup> Similar in character of painting to Vitale was also the Bolognese Lippo di Dalmasio, who lived towards the close of the fourteenth century, was also celebrated for the grace of his Madonnas, and also obtained the name "*dalle Madonne*." The Ursuline nun, Beata Caterina Vigri, is, by some, numbered among his scholars, though her productions belong to the middle of the fifteenth century. The Gallery of Bologna and the Academy of Venice each contain a specimen of her style, representing S. Ursula, and inscribed with name and date. They are of weak but pleasing expression, and may be classed among the better Sienese works of the day. A missal of the year 1374, belonging to the Munich Library, is adorned with the miniature illuminations of a certain Nicolas of Bologna.

The influence of Giotto may be distinctly recognised in the productions of two painters who lived about 1400—Simone di Bologna and Jacobo Paulus, who conjointly decorated the church of the Madonna della Mezzaratta with Biblical frescoes. Those by the first-named artist are rude and hard, and those by the last-named devoid of character; both alike deficient in conception and expression.<sup>2</sup> There is an altar-piece by

<sup>1</sup> D'Agincourt, pl. 177.

<sup>2</sup> See Lanzi, *Storia Pittorica*, who identifies this painter with Jacobo

Jacobo (1408) in S. Giacomo Maggiore, and several pictures on wood in the Gallery of Bologna, of a severe and hard style, and there is a series of pictures by Simone in the same collection, which can only rank as specimens of mechanical cleverness.

An attractive fresco in the manner of the Florentine Niccolò di Pietro exists in the court of the convent of S. Domenico at Bologna; it bears the name of "Petrus Johannis," and is much injured in some parts.<sup>1</sup>

A certain Lorenzo and Cristoforo of Bologna painted also towards the end of the fourteenth century, in the church della Mezzaratta. Cristoforo executed the altar-piece (1380) representing a Madonna protecting the faithful with her mantle.<sup>2</sup>

Here we must also mention Thomas of Mutina (Modena), who was employed by the Emperor Charles IV. to decorate the castle of Carlstein, 1357. In the chapel of the castle may still be seen two pictures on wood of his hand, one of which, a much-injured *Ecce Homo*, contains a number of small figures in the frame. The other is a Madonna of peculiar grandeur of conception, resembling the style of the early Bolognese painters who preceded him, mingled with a certain trace of Sienese forms. Another indubitable picture by this same master (inscribed with his name), now in the Gallery of the Belvedere at Vienna, represents a Virgin and Child, with two warlike saints—half-length figures.<sup>3</sup> The expression of the heads might, not unjustly, be compared with those of Vitale of Bologna. To this same Thomas of Mutina may be ascribed with much probability a picture in the altar-recess of the St. Catherine's chapel at Carlstein—the Madonna between an Emperor and Empress, a picture of great sweetness, especially as regards the principal figure, the head of which partakes

d'Avanzo of Bologna, by whom an inscribed picture on wood, of but indifferent merit, exists in the Colonna gallery, representing a Crucifixion, with figures around. If these painters be one and the same individual, it is certain they have nothing in common with the great master of whom we shall speak further, and whom we shall designate by the name of D'Avanzo Veronese. See E. Förster, *Kunstblatt*, 1841, No. 38; and 1847, No. 9.

<sup>1</sup> According to Lanzi, a certain Lianori subscribed himself "*Petrus Johannis*." *Storia Pittorica*, v. 5, p. 17. A picture in the gallery at Bologna, which bears the inscription "*Petrus Lianoris*, p. 1453," does not at all coincide with the style of the above-mentioned frescoes: it is hard and severe.

<sup>2</sup> D'Agincourt, pl. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 133, fig. 1.

more of the Sienese character. A very carefully executed Vera Icon, of mild expression, in the cathedral of Prague, is also considered the work of this painter. How far this Thomas is associated with the contemporary painter Barnaba of Modena, by whom a Virgin and Child, dated 1367, exists in the Städel Institution at Frankfort, we are not able to say. The Frankfort picture is a remarkable effort to combine the Byzantine mode of treatment, including the olive complexion and gold lights, with the grander and freer conception of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Incomparably more important in the history of art are the group of painters who flourished at Padua in the fourteenth century. Indeed, it may be truly said that, with the exception of Tuscany, no city or district of Italy possesses such excellent wall-pictures of that period. Padua was at that time governed by the Carraras, a race distinguished for their love of art, though the principal means of its encouragement may be traced to the church containing the body of St. Anthony, for the decoration of which the highest artistic power was called into requisition.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time it must be admitted that this older school of Padua was essentially an offset from the Florentine. If Giotto be the great leader at Florence, he must also be considered the same here, where he is represented by one of his grandest works—the frescoes in the chapel of the Arena. His followers here were also not all natives of Padua, certainly not the most distinguished of them, and differ so much among each other in style, that, beyond the foundation, for which they were all alike indebted to Giotto, no other common feature can be said to characterize the school.

In the first place it is very doubtful whether Giotto, upon the completion of the frescoes in the chapel just mentioned, after 1303, left any immediate scholars in Padua. The his-

<sup>1</sup> See D'Agincourt for specimens of both these masters, plate 133. We are not aware whether the forty figures by Thomas, in the Chapter-House of the Dominicans at Treviso, representing the celebrated men of this order, are still in existence. They bore the date 1352.

<sup>2</sup> We are indebted for our information on this subject chiefly to a series of treatises by E. Förster in the *Kunstblatt*, 1837, Nos. 3 to 17, and to an article upon Giunto Padovano in the same, 1841, No. 36.

story of Paduan art is silent from that time till the period of Giunto Padovano, whose only authentic picture bears the date 1367, and who was besides a Florentine by birth. This picture, in the possession of Prince Friederich von Öttingen Wallerstein, is a small altar-piece with wings; the centre picture containing the Coronation of the Virgin, with angels and saints—the inner side of the wings the Annunciation, Birth of Christ, and Crucifixion—the outer side the history of the Virgin to her marriage with Joseph. The whole indicates a follower of Taddeo Gaddi, whose style of conception is here united with great softness of forms, powerful shadows, and a fuller arrangement of drapery. Other works, hitherto ascribed to Giunto, are now decidedly assigned to the Paduans Giovanni and Antonio, perhaps his scholars; for instance, the great frescoes in the Baptistery of the cathedral (founded 1380 by Fila Buzzacarina) and in the chapel of St. Luke, in the church of St. Anthony (about 1382). The symbolic arrangement of subjects, which was usual in buildings of this description, is seen in this Baptistery in great perfection. In the cupola we perceive Christ with the Virgin, with five circles round them, consisting of cherubs, angels with musical instruments, patriarchs and apostles, prophets and martyrs, the Fathers of the Church, and lastly, a numerous body of saints. Then, in a lower circle beneath the cupola, the events of the Old Testament to the time of Joseph—in the pendentives of the cupola the four Evangelists; and finally, upon the walls of the church, in several pictures, the histories of Christ and of the Baptist, with various fantastic representations from the Apocalypse. But the painters were not equal to the undertaking, and in point of picturesque composition, animation of single figures, drawing, and character, we may reckon this work as one of the most inferior attempted by Giotto's followers. The paintings in the chapel of St. Luke (a canonized monk) are better; chiefly referring to the legends of this saint and of the apostles James the Less and Philip. At all events, however rude in point of artistic feeling, they contain many good and lively motives, and that consistent distribution of shadow which also pervades the frescoes of the Baptistery, and seems to unite these painters with Giunto Padovano.

The Crucifixion of St. Philip near Hierapolis contains, for example, a well-understood group of plebeian assailants, who, with some figures better clad, are throwing stones. A third work, formerly ascribed to Giunto, which has perished, deserves mention for the subject's sake. These were the frescoes of a chapel of the church degli Eremitani, representing the Liberal Arts under the figures of those individuals distinguished for them; the Vicés, by a series of portraits of those noted for their practice; ending with a circle of pious Augustin monks.

Contemporary, however, in Padua with Giovanni and Antonio, had now arisen that painter, who, with the exception of Orcagna, must be considered as the worthiest follower of Giotto. This was D'Avanzo Veronese,<sup>1</sup> who, with his (probably somewhat older) fellow-artist Aldighiero da Zevio, began the decorations of the Cappella S. Felice, in the church of St. Anthony, in 1376, and those of St. George's Chapel, in the space before that church, in 1377. With the works of the two Paduan masters before mentioned, who, in point of time, might well have acquired their art from D'Avanzo and Aldighiero, these last have nothing in common beyond the general groundwork of style, and the aim at a more complete system of modelling; otherwise they stand to them in the relation of artists to artisans.

The Cappella S. Felice contains a series of frescoes, representing scenes from the legends of St. James the elder, and, in three divisions on the principal wall, a large Crucifixion, all arranged in a peculiar manner, resulting from the form of the architecture. The seven first pictures of the legends appear to be by the hand of Aldighiero. These are compositions full of life and expression, of powerful and decided drawing, and rich in characteristic motives. Giotto's dramatic mode

<sup>1</sup> D'Avanzo has been hitherto looked upon as a Bolognese, from the circumstance of the above-mentioned Jacobus Pauli, or Jacobo d'Avanzo, being confounded with him. But the remains of an inscription in St. George's Chapel lead to the supposition that Verona was the birthplace of D'Avanzo, — a circumstance which must not lead to the second mistake of confounding him with a certain Jacobus of Verona, an insignificant and mechanical artist, who executed an Adoration of the Kings, now in the Pisani palace at Padua. Zevio, Aldighiero's birthplace, lies near Verona.



of conception is adapted here with much spirit. In that picture, for instance, where St. James is instructing those who have been led away by the magicians, the various scenes of the listening crowd, of the plotting magicians, and of the final destruction of these latter by fiends, are combined in the most masterly and animated manner. In the next scene the saint is advancing with the utmost energy to anathematize the fiends, while the Jews are seen conspiring together to effect his overthrow. And thus the narrative continues to unfold itself with a clearness, a decision, and a plastic completeness, surpassed by no other examples of the school of Giotto. The fourth picture is especially fine—the landing of the body of St. James on the Spanish coast. The body of the saint is laid upon a stone on the sea-shore, in front of a castle, while every action of the attendants bespeaks the deepest respect and sympathy. An angel is holding the rudder of the vessel. In these pictures the painter has succeeded in the most difficult artistic efforts; in that for instance of representing a knight plunged in a river and attempting in vain to climb the high shore, with many others of the same kind.<sup>1</sup>

While Aldighiero, on the one hand, like the other followers of Giotto, adhered still more than that master to the general appearances of life and character, and indulged to a greater extent in the habit of individualizing, D'Avanzo, on the other, remarkable as he was for a decided similarity to the style of Aldighiero, exhibited that totally new direction of thought which soon led to a thorough transformation of the school which Giotto had formed. This transition is analogous in nature with that which we perceive in the contemporary school of Cologne, though ascribable to totally different causes. Every figure, considered separately, which had hitherto, under a generalised aspect, only taken its place as part of a whole, was now recognised as something possessing an independent interest. It is remarkable to observe how the predilection for individuality of character now began to keep pace with the attention to the general conception of the subject, and perhaps, in some respects, outstripped it. This

<sup>1</sup> [Note also the very true and spirited representation of the plucky bark, and foreshortened rising ground above the river.]



THE LANDING OF THE BODY OF ST. JAMES; Fresco by Altighieri, in the Cappella

di S. Felice of St. Anthony's Church, at Padua

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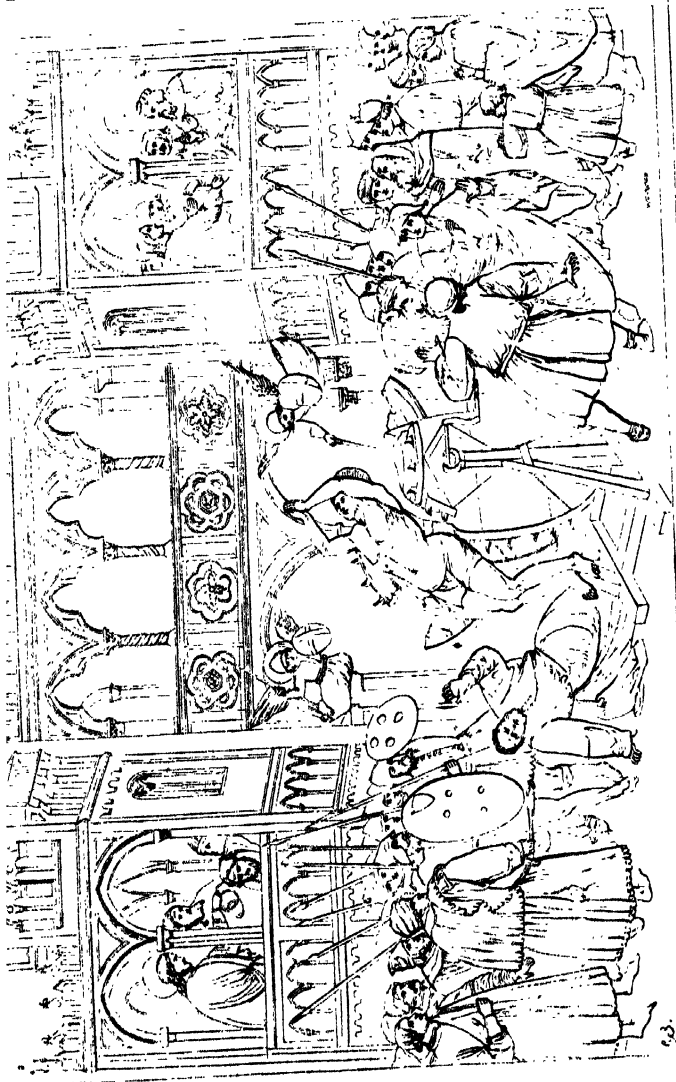






Fresco, by D. Avanzo, in St. George's Chapel, Padua





Interior of a Church in St. George's Chapel at Windsor

is immediately apparent in the next picture, where the body of St. James is being carried into the castle of the Countess Lupa.<sup>1</sup> Here the actions and gestures of the people crowding round the vehicle are given with the utmost minuteness of detail. The other pictures are less distinct and successful in composition, and also, in part, over-painted. The great Crucifixion, on the other hand, in three compartments, divided by pillars, afforded the artist ample field for the exhibition of his peculiar gifts; and we here trace new and animated motives, easy movements and positions, soft and beautiful forms, and, above all, a thorough carrying out of these qualities into the minutest details. We observe, moreover, an admirable understanding of character, especially in the expression of sorrow and anxiety. The general conception is not particularly grand or poetical, owing perhaps to the unfavourable form of the spaces. One novel feature is the group of spectators returning from the Crucifixion.

But D'Avanzo's style of conception is seen to incomparably more advantage in the frescoes of St. George's Chapel.<sup>2</sup> These consist of twenty-four large pictures, representing the youthful history of Christ, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Crucifixion, and the legends of St. George, St. Lucy, and St. Catherine. Formerly the roof was also decorated with the figures of the Prophets. Aldighiero's portion in this series is contradictorily described by the various authorities, and cannot be pronounced upon with any certainty.<sup>3</sup> The principal part, however, may undoubtedly be considered to have been the work of D'Avanzo.

Upon the whole, we may consider this painter to have been the first among his contemporaries for fulness of dramatic power, though he aimed less than they at scenes of violent

<sup>1</sup> [For the legend of St. James the elder see Mrs. Jameson's 'Sacred and Legendary Art,' 1848, vol. i. p. 208.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> These frescoes, which for more than a century had been covered with dust and consigned to oblivion, were brought to light in 1837 by Dr. E. Förster, who, assisted by the proper authorities, cleaned and restored them. See 'Wandgemälde der S. Georgen Kapelle zu Padua,' by Dr. E. Förster, with 14 plates. Berlin, 1841.

<sup>3</sup> Vasari's authority on this subject (see Life of Vittore Carpaccio) is not entitled to the least respect. Among other mistakes, he makes out Aldighiero and Zevio (Sebeto) to be two different painters.



action. Giotto and his followers looked upon the surface of their pictures as a field requiring to be filled with the utmost possible variety of life; and as the higher understanding of landscape and architecture—in short, as the artistic completeness of the subject to be represented by means of outer accessories was beyond their power, they instinctively endeavoured to supply it by accompanying the chief personage with a numerous retinue of figures, who, by their interest in the subject, helped to explain it. D'Avanzo's understanding of landscape and perspective is far more matured. At the same time he retains the Giotto mode of conception, but animates it afresh with a depth and variety of character peculiar to himself. In his compositions most crowded with figures, the principal idea, the moment of action, is always clearly and forcibly developed; in this he was assisted by a gift of expression and a knowledge of form such as no painter had ever previously combined. The picture of the Crucifixion (on the altar-wall) is superior in every respect to that in the chapel of S. Felice, displaying in its fine, separate groups a modification of the various modes by which a participation in the principal event is usually expressed, such as scarcely any other Crucifixion picture exhibits. The head of the dead Saviour is especially fine—here the painter has aimed far more to give the expression of divinity than that of the languor of death. Among the pictures on the entrance wall, the Adoration of the Kings is the composition most distinguished as combining the greatest richness with the discreetest regularity. In the Flight into Egypt, the smiling countenance of the Virgin, with the Child looking gaily upwards, has a peculiar charm. Here, as in the same subject by Giotto, the scene is enlivened by several other figures. The legendary subjects on the side wall contain also a perfect treasury of new and animated features. The baptism of the heathen king and his people combines again the greatest fulness with the clearest unity. The saint is baptizing the monarch, while his family kneel around with an expression of eager expectation. Fresh spectators are hurrying to the spot, and even a couple of children are trying to find a space behind a pillar where they can witness the scene. In the succeeding pictures, St. George

forms an excellent contrast to the magician, his persecutor who stands lurking by, while the saint, with a cheerful countenance, empties the cup of poison. The subject of the "Martyr on the Wheel" is also admirably given. S. Catherine lies in prayer, extended upon the wheel, the iron bars of which have just been broken by two angels, to the terror of all present, in whom the varieties of expression are powerfully given. The scene takes place in the court-yard of a palace. The four pictures containing the legends of this saint are in a bad state of preservation, and were probably executed by some assistant, though the invention may be D'Avanzo's. The finest is the parting between two philosophers condemned to death. On the other hand, the pictures which represent the history of St. Lucy are well preserved, and of the highest order. The second of them represents the miracle of several soldiers and six oxen trying in vain to move the saint from her place. Here the singularity of the subject is forgotten in the great merits of the mode of representation: the saint is standing looking up to heaven in the attitude of the grandest repose, surrounded by a crowd of excited spectators, some of whom are appealing to the Prætor, while the others exhibit the greatest alarm and perplexity of mind.

In both these cycles of pictures the subject did not allow the master the exercise of that grandeur of allegorically expressed thought which inspired Giotto and Orcagna in their highest productions. Nor is D'Avanzo to be compared with either of these painters in higher poetical conception, in power, elevation, and fulness of idea. On the other hand, he equals them in unity and roundness of composition, and surpasses them and every other contemporary in all that belongs to picturesque completeness; and this in so remarkable a degree, that he must ever be considered a most extraordinary painter for the fourteenth century, and as one forming an early transition to the style of the fifteenth. He it was who first arrested the forms of special expression without departing far from the general and the ideal on the one hand, or degenerating into portraiture on the other. Devotion, resignation, wonder, and terror he expresses with equal perfection, and that not only by the play of the features, but by the whole

attitude—by the hands and the position of the knees. In the expression of malice only he has not been successful, as we see in the Crucifixion in the chapel of S. Felice; not that he degenerates into caricature, like other masters of the time, but subsides rather into something unmeaning and insipid. The heads of his holy personages are one and all of a grand style of beauty; and if, in respect of knowledge of the human form, and in the disposing of drapery, he made no particular progress, the century is, at all events, indebted to him for that power of modelling and gradation of tones which may be considered as his second great excellence, and which D'Avanzo alone in those times so developed. For though it was not till several years later that Masaccio defined the true principles of these qualities in art, yet, by a happy empiricism, D'Avanzo brought the thing itself to light, while the other followers of Giotto continued to be satisfied with a mere general indication.

Endowed with this power of individuality, and assisted with his improved modes of art, D'Avanzo now advanced a step which places him far beyond all his predecessors. In his works are seen the first attempts at optical illusion, and this is the important point at which he was joined by the later Paduan school of Squarcione and Mantegna. This, it is evident, had long been the object of his thoughts and efforts. In the Crucifixion in the chapel of S. Felice, and in many of the pictures we have named, we recognise partial attempts and experiments in this department. The last picture, however, of the history of St. Lucy of Syracuse is the first in which he attained any great result, and this alone would have served to throw off the forms of the Giotto School, had the efforts of D'Avanzo been followed by those of any immediate successors. The picture contains, like many other of his, a double representation of the subject. In the vestibule of the church, behind, we see the mortally wounded saint in the act of receiving the host, while in the foreground the body lies upon a decorated bier, surrounded by sorrowing men and women. Here the drawing is not only more correct, the colouring finer and more lively, and the execution more finished than in the other pictures, but the power of individualizing is carried further. The architectural perspective,

also, which, in his other productions, is treated with more care than in any other contemporary work, is here brought to a certain completeness; the figures are rightly softened according to their degrees of distance, and those standing behind are divided from those in front by a slight tint of air.

Other works by D'Avanzo, in which perhaps his new tendency may have been more fully developed, have now perished; for instance, two symbolical triumphal processions in the palace of La Scala at Verona, and some "*Sposalizy*" in the house of Count Serenghi, also at Verona, which are reported to have been full of contemporary costumes and portraits.

There is no evidence to show that D'Avanzo exercised any influence upon his fellow-painters. Hubert van Eyck, who in 1377 was still a boy, and Masaccio, who at that time was not born, were left subsequently to rediscover those secrets in art which he had already practised. Least of all was he imitated or studied by the Paduans themselves. We need quote only two large works of the beginning of the fifteenth century which repeat the style of Giotto in the most vapid manner. One of these consists in the frescoes which adorn the cupola and walls of the colossal saloon, or Sala della Ragione. Formerly, the invention of this work was assigned to the celebrated magician, Pietro di Abano, and the execution to Giotto; now, however, there is reason to believe that the whole was painted after 1420, and by a certain Giovanni Miretto. It is one of the most difficult works of art existing to explain. Nothing but a correct knowledge of the astrological systems of the fifteenth century could furnish the key, and much, even under these circumstances, must remain for ever incomprehensible. Here we find the influence of the stars upon the seasons and upon the affairs of men symbolized in a row of nearly 400 pictures, arranged side by side, or one above the other, and in no way divided into any surveyable order of arrangement. Various human achievements and events are thus treated, from their very nature, in the true *genre* manner, although the mode of representation adheres strictly to the style of Giotto. Besides the allegorically personified months, planets, &c., we also perceive the figures

of the Apostles, of the Virtues, a colossal St. Mark, and many others.<sup>1</sup> The forms are throughout general and insipid, and even the better figures, as for example the Apostles, are mere repetitions of well-known types. Every part also has been repeatedly over-painted. The second work, the paintings in the choir of the church *degli Eremiti*, has hitherto been ascribed to a certain Guariento (1330 to 1360), but is now, upon convincing grounds, decided to belong to the fifteenth century, and probably to some painter nearly allied to Giovanni Miretto. Christ is here represented as the Judge of the World, with the Apostles, three and three, on each side; then the Fathers of the Church, the Prophets, the histories of the apostles Philip and James the Less, four subjects from the legends of the Augustin order, with many others, all of inferior artistic value, and the chief of them over-painted. The best preserved are the figures of the planets in *chiaroscuro* along the walls below, which here, as in the Sala, are connected with the affairs of human life in some inexplicable way.

In other towns of Upper Italy, also, the influence emanating from the school of Giotto led to a higher and freer development. Verona, of which, as we have already stated, Aldighiero and D'Avanzo were probably natives, possesses a considerable number of wall-paintings of the fourteenth century: for example, those in the Presbytery of S. Nazario, in S. Anastasia, in S. Zeno, and in other places; chiefly figures of saints of a statuesque character, agreeing more or less with the Florentine principle of style. In the frescoes by Stefano da Zevio (over a side door of St. Euphemia, and in a recess on the outer wall of S. Fermo) warmth of colouring is combined with strict grace. A similar style is displayed in a very excellent altar-piece, now in the gallery of the Council Hall at Verona. It bears the inscription "Opus Turoni, 1360," and represents the Trinity, with the Coronation of the Virgin and various saints on the sides.

In Milan we are reminded of the name of Giovanni da

<sup>1</sup> For a further account of these strange and interesting pictures, which we cannot enter upon at greater length, see E. Förster, *Kunstbl.*, 1838, No. 15.

Melano, which we have mentioned before, if indeed this designation be referable to that city. Too few specimens, however, of the fourteenth century have been preserved here to permit of any general conclusions. A later Milanese, of whom only one work has survived, and that in Naples, bore the name of Leonardo di Bissuccio. This specimen consists in the paintings of the octagon monumental chapel of Sergiani Carracciolo (seneschal and lover of the younger Queen Johanna), behind the choir of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, built 1433. Above the entrance-door is seen, on a colossal scale, Christ crowning the Virgin, both enfolded in the arms of the First Person of the Trinity, and surrounded with angels. Below, to the left, are several members of the Carracciolo family, and next the door, in a circular form, the portrait of the seneschal naked, as he was found after his murder. Other parts of the chapel contain scenes from the Life of the Virgin, an Annunciation, and several single figures of saints. The whole style is essentially Giottesque, but the form and expression of the heads is sweeter, especially of the angels, which recall Fiesole. The portraits are individual in character, the arrangement of the whole simple and grand.<sup>1</sup>

In Venice, as we have already shown, the Byzantine style had, with slight interruption, reigned for many centuries, and, thus established, it now offered a strength of opposition to the new tendencies in art such as they had encountered in no other part of Italy. From the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the partial introduction of these innovators, though under a different form of combination, could no longer be impeded. None of those grand allegorical subjects, none of those profoundly pensive poems with which the school of Giotto decorated whole buildings, are to be found here; even the historical representations are, in point of character, of inferior order, while the altar-pictures retain longer than elsewhere the gilt, canopied compartments and divisions, and with them the tranquil position of single figures. The de-

<sup>1</sup> See Passavant, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Malerschulen in der Lombardei*, Kunstbl., 1838, No. 66 and following numbers. An inscription leaves no doubt of the name and origin of the master.

velopment which attended these beginnings, and the form of art which the school was subsequently to attain, was first manifested in the fifteenth century.

We begin with one of the few works of a monumental character, namely, with the mosaics of the chapel of S. Isidoro in St. Mark's (at the end of the left transept, executed 1350). The principal features of the Germanic style predominate here almost exclusively, though not accompanied either with the poetic grandeur or the solemn beauty of the better followers of Giotto: on the contrary, they combine with careful execution an awkward and unimagined form of composition. Further examples of this kind are to be found in the gallery of the Venetian Academy; for instance, a great altar-piece consisting of many compartments—the Coronation of the Virgin, with fourteen scenes from the history of Christ, which (with the exception of the later centre picture) is ascribed to Niccolo Semitecolo, a painter who flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century. In this work there is little of the general tendency of the time to be seen. It corresponds most with the productions of Duccio, though without attaining his excellence; while the gold hatchings, the olive-brown complexion, and many a motive are still directly Byzantine. Another altar-piece, with the Coronation of the Virgin in the centre, by Lorenzo Veneziano, is more indicative of the transition period. It bears the date 1357 or 1367, and, though of a very severe style, the heads have a soft expression and the draperies fall in round and easy folds. In some respects we here detect an immediate influence of the Tuscan School. A third altar-piece, formerly ascribed to Michele Onoria, now to Michele Mattei da Bologna, shows a further progress. The centre picture represents the Madonna with saints, with the Crucifixion and the Evangelists above, and the history of S. Helena below. This is much more in the character of the times, with delicate folds, and a light carnation, which, however, still retains something of Byzantine greenness in the shadows. The countenances are delicate, but not of any character. Of similar style is a picture by the Venetian Niccolo da Pietro, in the Manfrini gallery at Venice. The subject is a Madonna with the

Child, and little angels playing on musical instruments, not without grace, especially in the smooth and almost Sienese drapery. The artist has given the place of his dwelling—"Nicolas, the son of Maestro Pietro, painter in Venice, residing at the entrance of the Paradise Bridge, painted this work in the year 1394,"—thus showing the kind of artist life in a rich commercial city.

Another tendency may be traced in Venice about the first half of the fifteenth century. This is a peculiar melting softness, not deficient in dignity and earnestness, which pervades the pictures of that time. The drapery is in those long and easy lines which we see in the Tuscan pictures of the fourteenth century; the colouring deep and transparent, the carnation unusually soft and warm, almost an anticipation of the later excellences of the Venetian School. As early as in a beautiful altar-piece by Michiel Giambono (who painted at that time in Venice), representing a Christ and four saints, and now in the Venetian Academy, this tendency is seen in most decided character. The same may be said of Jacobello del Fiore, one of whose works, a Madonna, with the date 1484 (in other respects a picture of no interest), is in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice.

But the works in which we see this tendency most completely developed are those of the two conjointly painting artists, Giovanni and Antonio da Murano (one of the Venetian islands). The last-named belongs to the family of the Vivarini, whom we shall notice later: the first, from the frequent addition of Alamanus to his name, appears to have been a German. Two excellent pictures by both are in the gallery of the Venetian Academy. The one dated 1440 is a Coronation of the Virgin, with many figures; among them some beautiful boys of earnest expression, holding the instruments of the Crucifixion: around are seated numerous saints, in whose heads we perceive the ideal type of the Germanic style, mingled with signs of individual character, somewhat in the manner of Meister Stephan of Cologne (an old repetition of this picture is in S. Pantaleone at Venice, Cappella della Madonna di Loreto). The other piece, dated 1446, is a picture of enormous dimensions, representing the Madonna



enthroned, beneath a canopy sustained by angels, with the four Fathers of the Church at her side. Here the Madonna is very graceful, but the four saints, though of dignified character, are without all grandeur, and somewhat prosaically conceived. The colouring is glowing and splendid, as in the works of Giambono. Several fine pictures by both these artists, dated 1445, are to be seen in the inner chapel of S. Zaccaria in Venice. They are of higher and milder expression than those we have described. Among them the altar-piece on the left, with figures of saints, side by side and one above the other, is particularly well preserved. A Madonna enthroned is said to be in S. Fosca.

Finally, we must mention as a masterwork of this old Venetian School the Cappella de' Mascoli in St. Mark's, the walls of which exhibit the Birth, Presentation, Annunciation, and Death of the Virgin, and the waggon-roofs the circular pictures of the Virgin and two prophets; all executed in mosaics by the hand of the same Giambono just mentioned, and commenced about 1430. While this species of art, on account of its inability to meet the higher artistic requirements of the times, had almost ceased in other parts of Italy, it was destined to attain here in St. Mark's one of its greatest triumphs. It is true that the higher architectural principle which formed the style of the older mosaics is here no longer observed; these being merely historical paintings of a very developed kind, transposed into neat and fine mosaics: but at the same time the order of the arrangement, the beauty and expression of the forms, the brilliant colours, and the splendid architectural backgrounds—which have the merit of being correct in perspective—raise this work not only above all the other mosaics in the building, but assign to it a high place in the historical painting of the day. The artist, who, in an inscription, expressly declares himself a Venetian, died about 1450.<sup>1</sup>

How the old Venetian School, however, arrived at this state of development remains still uncertain. We do not here

<sup>1</sup> [Compare Zanetti, *Notizie intorno alle Pitture di Musaico della Chiesa Ducale di S. Marco*: an appendix to his work, '*Della Pittura Veneziana*,' 1771, p. 566.—ED.]

recognise the influence of the school of Giotto, but rather the types of the Germanic style, gradually assuming a new character. In respect to the peculiarities of the school, we are tempted to regard them in connection with the social condition of Venice itself. There was something, perhaps, in the nature of a rich commercial aristocracy of the middle ages calculated to encourage that species of art which offered the most splendour and elegance to the eye; and this also, if possible, in a portable form; thus preferring the domestic altar, or the dedication picture, to those great and solemn works which contain a whole world of events and thoughts, but in a slighter form of execution. The contemporary Flemish paintings, under similar conditions, exhibit analogous results. The depth and transparency of separate colours observable in the old Venetian School had been long a distinguishing element in the Byzantine paintings on wood, and may be therefore traceable to this source without our assuming an influence on the part of Padua, through the channel of D'Avanzo, or from the North through that of Johannes Alamanus.<sup>1</sup>

We must now call the reader's attention to the painters of the March of Ancona and the adjacent districts, the most distinguished of whom stand in closest connection with the Venetian School. Setting aside the otherwise unknown Oderigi of Gubbio, whom Dante denominates "*l'onor di quell' arte, ch' alluminare è chiamata in Parisi*" (*Purg.*, Canto xi.), we are met here at once by an unmistakeable Tuscan influence in the works of Gritto da Fabriano, a specimen of whom, a graceful Madonna with saints (upon the back of which, though now detached, was the Crucifixion with the symbolical pelican above), is now in the Berlin Museum. This work is verified by an inscription containing the name of the painter. In all probability, this Gritto is identical with Alegretto di Nuzio, by whose hand is an altar-piece, with the date 1368, in the cathedral of Macerata, and a small winged altar-piece, dated 1365, the Madonna with saints, formerly in the Camaldolese hospital on the Lungara at Rome. Without attaining any

<sup>1</sup> A Venetian prayer-book, with miniatures, executed about 1400, now in the Royal Library at Paris, is described by Waagen, *Kunstw. und Kunstbl.* in Paris, p. 321.

high development of the art, this painter is remarkable for sweetness of expression, and a great softness of colouring.

Far more remarkable in the history of art is one of Gritto's scholars, Gentile da Fabriano, who flourished in the commencement of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> His style resembles Fiesole, though on the one hand he has not the deep devotional feeling of this artist, while on the other he excels him in a freer conception of the ordinary events of life. Michael Angelo characterized him well when he said that "Gentile's pictures were like his name," that is noble, graceful, cheerful, animated; all which is expressed in the Italian *gentile*, marking a peculiarity in Italian manners for which we have no corresponding word. Fiesole and Gentile are like two brothers, both highly gifted by nature, both full of the most refined and amiable feelings; but the one became a monk, the other a knight. We compare the pictures of Gentile to the poems of the Minnesingers: they seem to breathe the joys of spring; they have an air of inexpressible serenity, clouded by no doubt, no anxiety. A childlike delight in splendour and golden ornaments (which he uses in the greatest profusion, without, however, perplexing the eye by excess) pervades all his works.<sup>2</sup>

Of Gentile's education nothing is known, and of the numerous works which he executed in his native place, in Venice and Rome, but very few now exist; the loss of those in the church of the Lateran at Rome, which were described as admirable, is particularly to be regretted. The little that does exist is, however, sufficient to enable us to form an estimate of his talents, and a knowledge of the difference of style between his earlier and later works. To the first belongs a fresco of the Madonna in the cathedral at Orvieto; and a Madonna with saints, the Donor and two trees, the crowns of which consist

<sup>1</sup> Elogio del Pitt. Gentile da Fabriano, scr. dal Marchese A. Cav. Ricci, Macerata, 1829.

<sup>2</sup> The gold decorations of Gentile, like those of most of his contemporaries, are sometimes laid on so thickly as to be in relief—a practice consistent with the nature of such decoration: for as no kind of modelling in light and shade is possible in gold, the effect of such could only be attained by these means, for which, however, it was necessary to view the picture in one particular light.

of cherubic forms, now in the Berlin Museum. (A picture which, in conception and expression, shows a Siennese influence.) Also his masterwork, an Adoration of the Kings, inscribed with his name and the date 1423, formerly in the sacristy of S. Trinità at Florence, now in the gallery of the academy there. Over the arches which enclose the picture are smaller representations, and among them four prophets, figures of the greatest majesty and dignity. The Adoration itself is one of the finest conceptions of this subject, and brings before us the whole richness and poetic naïveté with which the feeling of the middle ages invested this event. The expression of modesty in the Madonna, of kindness in the lovely child, the pious devotion of the kings and shepherds, the animated beauty of the single figures, the epic fulness of the conception, and the delicacy and richness of the execution, distinguish this picture as one of the most excellent productions of the schools descended from Giotto. Character and form, however, are not much more developed than in the works of Orcagna. It was after this that Gentile proceeded to Venice, where, it appears, he entered into the closest intimacy with Giovanni and Antonio di Murano. Another Adoration painted at this time for the Casa Zeno (now transferred from the Craglietto collection to the Berlin Museum) has, in point of colouring and form of the heads, so much in common with the works of Giovanni and Antonio, that it now bears their name; we believe, however, erroneously, exhibiting as it does in general conception and in many details, a certain similarity to Gentile's Adoration in Florence.<sup>1</sup> Many motives from this picture are here repeated; the finish is the same, the figures

<sup>1</sup> We admit that there is room for doubt in this case. Giovanni and Antonio did not flourish till after 1440, a period when Gentile was perhaps in Rome, and, at all events, so ripe in years, that they cannot be said to have been his teachers. On the contrary, it is possible that they may have been his scholars, among whom Giacomo Bellini is known to have been numbered as early as 1436. Gaye, in his essay on the drawings of Giacomo Bellini, *Kunstblatt*, 1840, No. 35, endeavours, it is true, to prove that Gentile's residence in Venice, and the period especially of his Adoration, formerly in the Craglietto collection, may be considered as prior to the Florence picture, dated 1423, but, on the one hand, his opinion is not borne out by conclusive facts, and, on the other, the Craglietto picture bears too obviously the impress of a later development.

more numerous; some youths, especially, who form the retinue of a fourth potentate here introduced, are full of the most chivalrous grace. Whether other pictures by Gentile belong to his earlier or later period, we are, in default of personal observation, not able to decide. At Fabriano itself (Casa Bufera) are two pictures by the master—a Coronation of the Virgin, and a St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. A Madonna, also, enthroned with angels, with the First Person of the Trinity above (much in the style of the Florence Adoration), was in the collection of Mr. Ottley; and a particularly fine Coronation of the Virgin (the so-called *Quadro della Romita*), with four single saints, is in the Brera Gallery at Milan.

The scholars of Gentile appear to have essentially adopted his later style. We shall presently mention one of them, Giacomo Bellini, as the father of both the founders of the later Venetian School; also another, Benedetto Bonfigli, as one of the earliest painters of the Perugian School; while Gentile's son, Francesco di Gentile da Fabriano, and Antonio da Fabriano, probably a scholar, will be found in the ranks of the Paduan School under Squarcione.<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary with Gentile, and in the vicinity of his native town, flourished other painters of similar tendency. Ottaviano di Martino Nello<sup>2</sup> painted a fresco in the church of S. Maria Nuova, at Gubbio, in 1403, which is remarkable for delicacy of execution and sweetness of expression; the Madonna is represented surrounded by angels, saints, and donors, while Christ above, in a glory of cherubim, holds the crown over her head. In Urbino resided the brothers Lorenzo and Jacopo di S. Severino. Lorenzo, the elder and more distinguished of the two, painted the altar-piece in the sacristy of S. Lucia at Fabriano, a Madonna with St. Catherine of Siena, and other saints and angels, a work more remarkable for animation and character than for beauty or thought. By both brothers conjointly are the frescoes of the Life of Christ and of the Baptist in the oratory of S. Giovanni Battista at

<sup>1</sup> See Gaye, 'Zur Kunstgeschichte' in Kunstbl., 1839, No. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See Kunstblatt, 1846, No. 59; Gaye, Cartegg. 1, p. 130. The painter died in 1444.

Urbino, also (probably) the wall-paintings of the history of St. Nicolas in a side chapel of S. Nicola at Tolentino. These are for the most part rudely over-painted, though some single figures are tolerably preserved. We find here some graceful heads with expressions of extreme tenderness and earnestness.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER IV.

### SCHOOL OF NAPLES.

GIOTTO, as we have already described, had executed one of his finest works in Naples, a circumstance which must necessarily have exercised considerable influence over the development of art, especially as the then existing Neapolitan School had already adopted that new tendency which emanated from Tuscany. Meanwhile the fourteenth century was characterized by no particular efforts.<sup>2</sup> An immediate connection with the style of Giotto is only recognizable in the illumination of a manuscript in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> executed by order of King Robert, the same monarch who invited Giotto to Naples. The illuminations are of a symbolical import, and agree with the school of Giotto in the mode of expressing allegorical subjects. We see, for instance, the figures of the seven liberal arts kneeling before Pegasus, beneath whose hoof gushes forth the fount of song; while Italy, as a weeping female, is standing before the king. The careful execution of this work reminds us so much of Giotto, that his personal influence may almost be concluded. The emotions are clearly expressed, the actions unusually lively and speaking. Of especial beauty is the piece in which seven angels are binding the demons. Here we see the happiest aim at grandeur, dignity, and beauty.

The following Neapolitan painters gave general evidence of the influence of the school of Giotto, though they in no way

<sup>1</sup> See Passavant's 'Rafael,' vol. i. p. 426, and further.

<sup>2</sup> See the author's essay 'Von den älteren Malern Neapels,' in the Museum, 1835, Nos. 43 and 49.

<sup>3</sup> See Waagen, Kunstw. und Künstler in England, vol. i. p. 149.

partake of its higher characteristics. The most remarkable, of whom specimens still exist, are Maestro Simone, and his scholars Stefanone and Francesco di Maestro Simone (son of the first named). Two altar-pieces by Simone are in S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples; a Magdalen by Stefanone is in S. Domenico Maggiore (Cappella S. Martino); and an excellent fresco by Francesco, a Madonna enthroned with the Trinity, is in S. Chiara, on the left of the principal entrance.

The forms of the Neapolitan School of the fourteenth century exhibit, upon the whole, no agreeable type of art. The heads have something empty and false in expression, combined with a chalky carnation. Nor do we find any of those animated compositions in which the followers of Giotto so greatly excelled. Towards the end of the century lived that painter who formed the transition to the later realism of the school of Naples, namely, Colantonio del Fiore (died 1444). The present ruined state of most of his works, however, prevents our forming any judgment of them. An altar-piece in S. Antonio del Borgo, representing the canonized abbot of that name, surrounded by angels playing on musical instruments,<sup>1</sup> partakes greatly of the style just described. A wall-painting by him in the little church S. Angelo a Nilo, in the lunette, is so much injured as to be scarcely recognizable. A celebrated picture in the Museo Borbonico (the *Study*) in Naples, formerly ascribed to Colantonio, is now, upon convincing reasons, assigned to the Flemish School. The subject is St. Jerome extracting a thorn from the lion's foot.<sup>2</sup>

In Sicily, also, the style of Giotto found entrance, and led to further development. This is proved by the deed of the foundation of the Order of the Holy Ghost, 1352,<sup>3</sup> now in the Royal Library at Paris, which is adorned with miniatures. Though the proportions are long and meagre, the heads are animated, the actions significant and graceful, and the artist's feeling is delicate.

<sup>1</sup> D'Agincourt, pl. 130, and further.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pl. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Waagen, *Kunstw. und Kunstl. in Paris*, p. 319.

## BOOK IV.

## THIRD STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

MASTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

## INTRODUCTION.

IN the first period of reviving Art, toward the end of the fifteenth century, it had been the aim of the artist to represent the sacred subjects which had been handed down from an earlier age, in a lively and impressive manner, and to enlarge the range of such representations in the same spirit. In the second period, his own mind and feelings came forth in free and self-productive energy; he had become conscious of his own powers, of his own privileges; but, for the perfection of Art, one element was still wanting—the correct delineation of form, guided by the study of nature.

The attainment of this element characterizes the third period, extending from the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The progress that had been made toward its acquisition during the two former periods had been very limited, as regards essentials. The imitation of nature, with a true and artless conception of characteristic moments and circumstances, had been successfully attempted in general respects only. A familiar acquaintance with the laws of form in its various appearances, extending to all its minutest details, was still retarded by the prevailing mode of representation, fettered as it was by prescribed types. The third period is the æra of the emancipation of Art in its external relations, as the preceding periods were of its internal life. In this instance again, the persevering consistency, and even exclusive predilection, with which the new aim was followed up, were calculated to produce peculiar and important results.



## CHAPTER I.

## TUSCAN SCHOOLS.

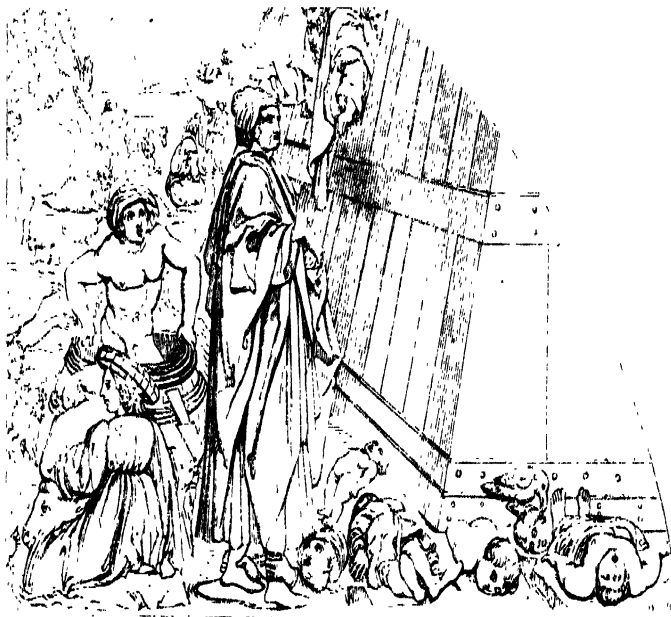
WE shall consider the painters belonging to this new period in the detached groups which present themselves in different parts of Italy. And first we turn to Florence, which in this century attained the zenith of her power, and where, under the auspices of the noble-minded family of the Medici, the intellectual as well as material interests of the republic attained their highest splendour. Poetry and philosophy, architecture and sculpture, advanced with the art of painting toward the same perfection. A few Florentine artists, who mark the transition from the old to the new manner, first invite attention, in the beginning of the fifteenth century; they unite, with the still prevailing type of the preceding periods, some indications of rounding, and a more correct delineation of form. Among them may be especially mentioned Paolo Uccello and Masolino da Panicale. Of the works of Uccello a few only, painted in a uniform green colour, remain in the great court of the monastery of S. Maria Novella (in the wing which runs parallel with the church). These do not particularly substantiate the story of Uccello's being the founder of linear perspective. A picture in the Uffizj gallery shows, however, in the figure of the horse, which is expressly made the principal object, a happy observation of real nature. Two pictures by Masolino are in S. Maria del Carmine, (Brancaacci chapel), representing the preaching of St. Peter, and the same apostle healing the sick.

Masolino is said to have been the instructor of Masaccio, who was born about the beginning of the century at San Giovanni, in Valdarno, between Florence and Arezzo, and died as early as 1448, as was suspected, by poison. This distinguished artist merits particular attention, as having been the first who gave a decided impulse to the new direction of Art: of the particulars of his life nothing more is known than that (as Vasari informs us) he was originally named Tommaso,



NOAH'S SACRIFICE, a fresco in S. Maria Novella, by Paolo Uccello.





THE DELUGE a fresco by Paolo Uccello, in the Cloister of the Monastery of  
S. Maria Novella at Florence page 193







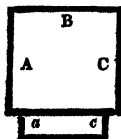
37. CATHERINE ; a fresco by Masaccio in S. Clemente a' Rom- page 198

or Maso, and that the reproachful "accio" was added from his total neglect of all the external relations of life, in his exclusive devotion to Art.

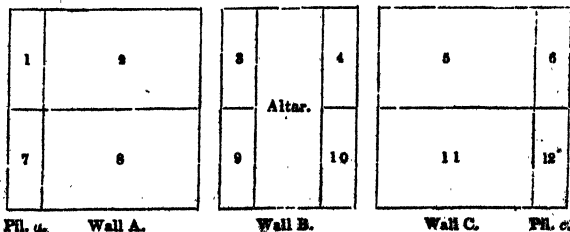
Some frescoes in the chapel of S. Caterina in S. Clemente at Rome are ascribed to him as early works; <sup>1</sup> they represent scenes from the life of S. Caterina, and from other legends, a Crucifixion, etc. Little that is original in these paintings is now preserved; most of them have been weakly painted over by a modern hand; here and there only can we recognise the original master, who, like Masolino, followed the manner of the latest imitators of Giotto, with peculiar spirit and beauty.

The frescoes which Masaccio painted in the Carmelite church at Florence, in the Brancacci chapel, <sup>2</sup> near the works of Masolino, are much more important.

Before we consider them more closely, an inspection of the subjoined plan, showing the relative position of these works (in which a third master was also employed), may facilitate the explanation of the several paintings on the walls and two projecting pilasters of the chapel.



*Ground-plan of the Chapel.*



<sup>1</sup> Engravings in Kubbel's *Studien*, Bl. 28, 35.—See also *Le pitture di Masaccio esistenti in Roma nella Basilica di S. Clemente, colle teste lucidate dal C. Lebruzzi, e pub. da Gio. dalle Arme. D'Agnacourt*, pl. 152 to 154; *Ottley*, pl. 42.

<sup>2</sup> The works in the Brancacci chapel have been engraved several times.



1. Expulsion from Paradise (Masaccio).
2. The Tribute-money (Masaccio).
3. Preaching of Peter (Masaccio).
4. Peter Baptizing (Masaccio).
5. Healing of the Cripple at the Beautiful Gate, and Cure of Petronilla.
6. The Fall of Adam and Eve (Filippino Lippi?).
7. Peter in Prison (Filippino Lippi).
8. Resuscitation of the King's Son (Masaccio; a small portion, in the centre of the picture, by Filippino).
9. Peter and John Healing the Cripple (Masaccio).
10. Peter and John Distributing Alms (Masaccio).
11. Martyrdom of Peter (Filippino Lippi).
12. Liberation of Peter (Filippino Lippi).<sup>1</sup>

The paintings of Masaccio are thus on the wall behind the altar, and on the side wall to the left. These were the works which were the means of introducing a new and marked improvement in the history of Art, and which, for a long period, even to the time of Raphael, formed the school of the artists

some by Piroli (the side walls);—the whole of them are given in Lasinio's collection;—drawings of the heads, in Patch's work, *Masaccio, sua Vita e Collezione di 24 Teste*; Firenze, 1770. Two subjects in Ottley, pl. 43 and 44.

<sup>1</sup> [These works, so often referred to by the historians of Art, have been variously described. The Tribute Money, No. 2, has been improperly denominated the Calling of Andrew and Peter. No. 9, called by the author Peter and John Healing, etc. (one of the subjects of No. 5), is more probably intended for the Sick and Deformed Cured by the Shadow of Peter (Acts v. 15), here accompanied by John. No. 10 is sometimes called the Ananias; a dead figure lies at the feet of the apostles. No. 8 is sometimes erroneously called Eutychus Restored to Life (Acts xx. 9); the subject is also incorrectly named by the author. The apocryphal incident represented is the following:—Simon Magus had challenged Peter and Paul to restore a dead person to life; the sorcerer first attempted this, and failed (the skulls and bones placed on the ground are part of the machinery of the incantation). The apostles raise the youth. (See the *Aurea Legenda*, and the *Historia Apostolica* of Abdias, where the youth is merely described as "*adolescens nobilis propinquus Cesaris*."). The bearded figure lifting both hands, behind the kneeling apostle, is probably intended for Simon Magus. Four of these compositions (Nos. 2, 5, 8, and 11) are almost double subjects. In No. 2, different moments of the same event are represented; No. 5 contains two subjects, as above described; in a portion of No. 8 the homage or dulia to St. Peter is represented, and in No. 11 the subject of Peter and Paul accused before Nero of despising the idols (sometimes improperly called Paul before Felix) occupies nearly half the space: in the background Paul is also seen led to martyrdom.

Some writers on Art seem to have attributed all these frescoes indiscriminately to Masaccio; others have considered the best portions to be his; the accuracy of German investigation has perhaps finally settled the distribution as above. According to this, the observations of Reynolds (*Discourse 12*) respecting Raphael's imitation of some of these figures would only prove that the great painter thought Lippi and Masaccio worth borrowing from, as well as Masaccio.—Ed.]



THE FALL, by Filippino Lippi.

THE EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE, by Masaccio.

Frescoes in the Church of S. M. del Carmine at Florence.

page 104.





ST. PAUL ADDRESSING ST. PETER IN PRISON

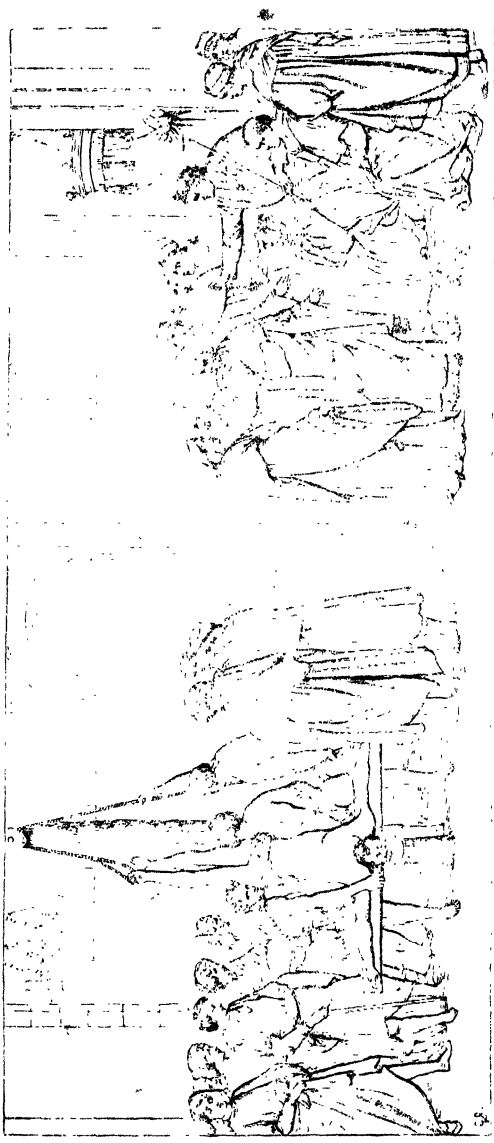
From a fresco by Filippino Lippi, in the Carmine at Florence

page 191    Compare page 307



Fig. 101.

Illustration of the construction of the foundation.





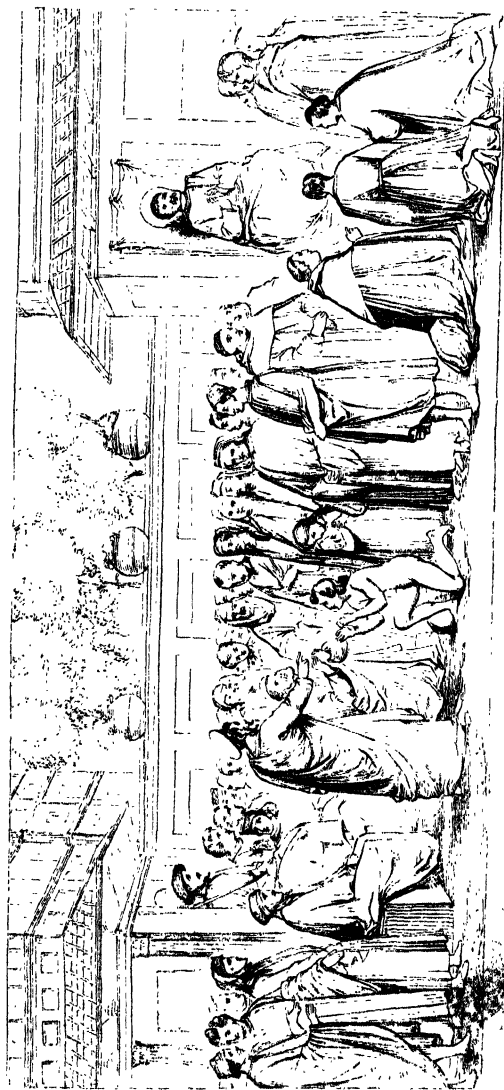






THE TRIBUTE MONEY: a fresco by Masaccio in the Church of S. M. del Carmine at Florence





RESURRECTION OF THE KING'S SON BY MIRACLES AND EPIPHANY LIFE, DEPOSED IN THE CATHEDRAL OF PIEMONTE, PAGE 106.





ST. PETER BAPTIZING:

A fresco by Masaccio, in the Church of S. M. d-i Carmine, at Florence. page 195.

of Florence. We observe that in this instance the aim of the artist is not so much to seize and represent correctly a particular event, nor to manifest his own inmost feelings through the medium of the forms and expressions with which he has to deal; in this instance, for the first time, the aim is the study of bodily form for itself, the study of the external conformation of man. With such an aim is identified a feeling which, in beauty, sees and preserves the expression of proportion; in repose and motion, the expression of an harmonious development of the powers of the human frame. In these works, therefore, for the first time, we find a well-grounded and graceful delineation of the naked, which, though still somewhat constrained in the figures of Adam and Eve, in No. 1, exhibits itself in successful mastery in the Youth Preparing for Baptism, in No. 4; so well, in short, in both, that the first were copied by Raphael in the Loggie of the Vatican, while the last, according to an old tradition, formed an epoch in the history of Florentine Art. The art of raising the figures from the flat surface, the *modelling* of the forms, hitherto only faintly indicated, here begin to give the effect of actual life. In this respect, again, these pictures exhibit at once a beginning and successful progress, for in the Tribute Money (No. 2) many parts are hard and stiff; the strongest light is not placed in the middle, but at the edge of the figures; while in the Resuscitation of the Boy (No. 8), the figures appear in perfect reality before the spectator. Moreover, we find a style of drapery freed from the habitual type-like manner of the earlier periods, and dependent only on the form underneath, at the same time expressing dignity of movement by broad masses and grand lines. Lastly, we remark a peculiar style of composition, which in the Resuscitation of the Boy, supposed to be Masaccio's last picture, exhibits a powerful feeling for truth and individuality of character. The event itself includes few persons; a great number of spectators are disposed around, who, not taking a very lively interest in what is passing, merely present a picture of stolid, serious manhood; in each figure we read a worthy fulfilment of the occupations and duties of life. The high poetic completeness of which this circumscribed and

seemingly subordinate aim in composition is capable, will be found very remarkably displayed in the works of a later Florentine, Domenico Ghirlandajo.

Nothing certain is known of any easel-pictures by Masaccio; single heads are sometimes attributed to him, which, in the study of form and modelling, resemble these frescoes. An excellent head of an old man, in the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, bears his name. In the collection of the Academy also, an extremely beautiful, severe, and dignified picture is attributed to him—a Madonna and Child sitting in the lap of St. Anna—a most beautiful conception of this subject, afterwards adopted by Fra Bartolommeo. Two small pictures in the Liverpool Institution—the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian and the Temptation of St. Anthony, and there ascribed to Andrea del Castagno—appear to belong to Masaccio. The same may be said of a simple, grand head in Mr. Ottley's collection.

It is not known whether Masaccio had any scholars: the Carmelite monk, Fra Filippo Lippi (born about 1412, died 1469), who is named as one, formed his style, it appears, from the works of Masaccio which adorned the church of his Order at Florence. But the dignified seriousness of Masaccio's conceptions of life gives place in the works of Fra Filippo to a sensual feeling, and a complacency in the incidents of vulgar nature. This tendency corresponds with the external circumstances of his life, in which, and in his actions, he forms the strongest contrast to his contemporary and spiritual brother Fiesole. When a child he became a member of the Order, but, his inclinations being worldly, he left the convent in his seventeenth year. Amusing himself one day with some friends, in an excursion at sea, they were suddenly attacked by pirates, and carried as slaves to Barbary. During eighteen months Filippo bore his chains, when one day he drew so striking a likeness of his master with charcoal upon the wall, that the Moor rewarded him with his freedom, and, after he had painted several pictures, gave him rich presents and sent him home. But his whole life was a romance:<sup>1</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> [The late Danish historian of Art, Dr. Gyllenhal, in his '*Carteggio d'Artisti*,' has published two letters by Filippo Lippi. In one of these (1439) the

carried off from the convent of S. Margherita, at Prato, Lucrezia Buti, with whom he afterwards lived; he died suddenly, and, as it was suspected, by poison administered by the relations of Lucrezia. The Pope's dispensation for his marriage with her, obtained by the interest of his powerful patrons the Medici, arrived too late. A son, who was the fruit of this union, inherited his father's name and talents.

Fra Filippo's most important works are the frescoes in the choir of the Duomo at Prato.<sup>1</sup> On the left wall he represented the History of St. Stephen, in several compartments, one over the other; on the right, that of St. John the Baptist; and on the wall where the window is, several figures of Saints. These paintings, which are on a large scale (particularly the lower ones), display a certain grandeur, especially the single figures of saints; but this grandeur is not altogether genuine, and seems to want inward repose. Some of the heads of the young women and choristers are in like manner not without grace, but it is a grace with which some degree of coarseness is generally mingled. These works are, however, full of character, and sometimes show a humorous conception of life; the artist has even introduced sharpers and low characters, painted from nature, though, it must be confessed, not always in the appropriate place. The compositions, considered generally, display feeling, and an impetuous, ardent mind. It is worthy of observation that the drapery now also underwent a transformation consistent with the realizing tendency of the time. Not only is the costume of the day introduced into the most sacred scenes, so that the angels themselves appear in the gay Florentine garb, but even the ideal drapery of the Virgin and of the First Person of the Trinity is treated in a realistic style, and that without any particular skill to recommend it; assuming the appearance of a thick woollen stuff, which neither shows the shape of the figure, nor falls into

painter represents himself in great poverty, and as having to provide for several poor relations. "The style of this letter," Dr. Gaye observes, "does not at all indicate that levity of character which Vasari imputes to him;" at the same time there is nothing that directly contradicts the above statement.—Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> *Delle Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi nel coro della Cattedrale di Prato, e de' loro restauri, relazione compilata dal C. F. B. (Canonicus Baldanzi.) Prato, 1835.* See *Kunstbl.*, 1836, No. 90.



ine masses or folds. Some Madonnas of the Lippi School are regularly clad in the Florentine garb.

The frescoes which Filippo painted in the choir of the cathedral at Spoleto are less important, and have been much over-painted. The subjects are the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Shepherds, and the Coronation of the Virgin. He was assisted by his pupil Fra Diamante. In spite, however, of all injuries, the charming fulness of the composition, the simple beauty of the figures, and the powerful colouring, produce an excellent effect. In some of his easel pictures his coarseness gives way to a soft and pleasing naïveté. One of the best is the Death of St. Bernard, placed in the transept of the cathedral of Prato; in this there is a beautiful and appropriate expression of feeling. A Predella,<sup>1</sup> also (now in the house of the Chancellor of Prato), with the subjects of the Adoration, the Dedication in the Temple, and the Murder of the Innocents, is remarkable for grace and delicacy. (The altar-piece to which it belonged—a Madonna with the features of Lucrezia Buti—was formerly in S. Margherita, then in the possession of the Chancellor just mentioned, and was subsequently removed to Paris, whence it has never returned.) A beautiful Madonna adoring the Infant lying in flowers, is in the Berlin Museum; a similar picture is in the Florentine Academy. A Coronation of the Virgin, in the same collection, formerly in S. Ambrogio at Florence, is full of figures, and contains, among others, the portrait of the artist; but even here he has given his saints and angels a physiognomy more expressive of cunning and earthly passions than of moral dignity. The sacred event is entirely transposed to this world. An excellent little picture

<sup>1</sup> [The altar decoration was sometimes composed of a variety of subjects; the chief painting was often surmounted by a lunette,—a smaller, sometimes rectangular, but more frequently semicircular picture; the flat frame was generally painted with arabesques and with heads or single figures; lastly, the ascent or step (*gradino*, *predella*) on the top of the altar was adorned with small pictures, generally three or five in number. Sometimes the principal painting had doors, which could be closed upon it; these doors or wings were painted inside and out, and on the inside commonly contained the portraits of the donors, who thus knelt on each side of the principal subject. The last form and treatment, less common in Italy, are almost universal in the early Jewish and German altar-pieces. A picture with one door, and consequently consisting of two panels, is called a Diptych; with two doors (or three panels), a Triptych; and with many, a Polyptych.—ED.]

in the gallery of the Uffizj, St. Jerome writing in the recess of a wall, approaches the contemporary Flemish style in the mode of treating accidental accessories, such, for instance, as the torn paper and the pen under the table. A corresponding similarity is seen in the beautiful picture in S. Spirito at Florence (right transept), which, meanwhile, on various grounds, has been decided not to be the work of Filippo. The Virgin is holding the Child, who is reaching towards the Cross, with which the little Baptist is playing. On each side are advancing two Saints in the act of presenting the Donor and his wife: behind, seen through an arcade, is a most graceful landscape, which, though Florentine in character, is painted quite in the Flemish mode. The Madonna and one female saint are very lovely, though without ideal beauty: the children truly graceful and naïve. A genuine picture of the master, however, has passed from the same hands into the Gallery of the Louvre. The subject is the Virgin standing with angels, and two monks in prayer at her side. It is one of the most earnest and dignified works in which Filippo still approaches the style of Masaccio.

Francesco di Pesello, called Pesellino, was the scholar of Filippo who most resembled him. (He was the son of one Giuliano Pesello, by whom an excellent altar-piece—the Trinity and two saints—existed in Mr. Ottley's collection.) By Pesellino himself are the pictures of a Predella, of a legendary character (now partly in the Louvre, partly in the Florentine Academy), which, in energy of invention and in careful execution, are scarcely distinguishable from the hand of his master. Another Predella, in the Liverpool Institution—the exhibition of a relic in the presence of much people—is one of the richest productions of this kind, and recalls Masaccio in its sharply defined character.

Sandro Botticelli (1437–1515) was another scholar of Filippo's. His own name was Alessandro Filipepi, but he derived his surname Botticelli from his first master, a goldsmith. All the impetuosity and energy of action which are observable in the historical works of Fra Filippo were transferred to the pupil, united with a peculiar and fanciful mode of conception, and an endeavour to elevate his subject above

he common. In some cases he was eminently successful, particularly in a round picture in the gallery of the Uffizi, at Florence, representing a Madonna crowned by angels. This picture, especially as regards the heads, is very interesting; the Madonna is the beautiful original of the female heads repeated in almost all similar pictures by this master: in less happy specimens its characteristics are exaggerated even to repulsiveness. A Madonna with angels of the same easily recognisable character is now in the Louvre; two others are in the Berlin Museum. A representation of the Nativity in Mr. Ottley's collection is characteristic of Sandro's vehemence of style. A group of angels are dancing in the air,<sup>1</sup> while others are crowning the approaching shepherds, and warmly embracing them. Three demons are retreating in impotent rage. Besides these there is a large altar-piece—the Coronation of the Virgin with the Four Doctors of the Church—in the Academy at Florence; the heads of the doctors are remarkably well painted.

The fanciful bias of Sandro's manner is more apparent in his historical pictures, properly so called, particularly in those which began to introduce the antique myth and allegory into modern art. A correct account of the now increasing frequency of such subjects, against which Savonarola's later reaction proved unavailing, would be of no small value in the history of art. Meanwhile it suffices to say that the Italian schools in this respect took the lead of the Northern, and that, beside Squarcione, Sandro Botticelli was one of the first who treated these subjects with feeling. A picture by him of this kind in the gallery of the Uffizi, at Florence, has a peculiar charm. The subject is a naked Venus on a shell, floating upon the waters, and driven by two of the winds, with a shower of roses, towards the shore, where, under a laurel-bush, a richly clad female attendant is holding a red mantle to receive her. In these subjects, however, the artist often degenerates into mannerism. Of the same character are some small and neatly executed pictures—for example, his allegorical representation

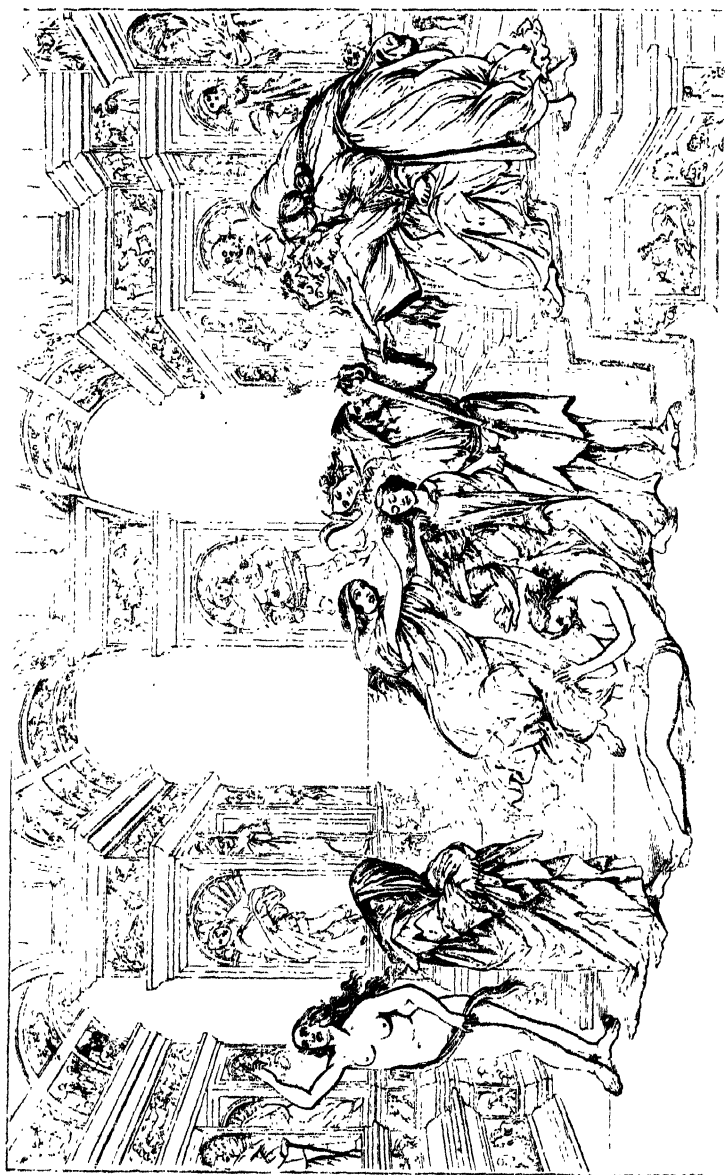
<sup>1</sup> The group of angels are not dancing in the air, but securely kneeling on the thatch of the shed. See the engraving, plate 50 of Ottley's *Early Florentine School*.



MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH ANGELS, by S. Botticelli: in the gallery of  
the Uffizi at Florence page 100













of Calumn. After Lucian's description of a picture by Apelles), in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, and a picture representing the miracles and death of S. Zenobio, in the collection of Von Quandt at Dresden, with many others. A naked Venus, in the Museum at Berlin, is rather insipid and unattractive. We find Sandro as a fresco-painter in the Sistine chapel of the Vatican, erected under Sixtus IV., and embellished with frescoes by all the most celebrated painters of the time, about 1474.<sup>1</sup> On one side of the chapel are subjects

<sup>1</sup> [This chapel was built under the auspices of Sixtus IV., in 1473, by Baccio Pintelli, a Florentine architect; its length is nearly 150 feet, and its breadth one-third of that extent: it has two entrances, a principal one opposite the altar, and a small one in the corner to the right of the altar, leading to the Pope's apartments. The larger portion of the chapel, which is devoted to the church service, is divided from the rest by a balustrade. The principal entablature, at a considerable height from the pavement, forms a narrow gallery, protected by an iron railing, round three sides of the chapel: the end wall, where Michael Angelo's Last Judgment is, is of course unbroken. Between this gallery and the springing of the vaulted roof are the windows, six on each side; on the wall opposite the altar are two painted windows to correspond. The space under the windows is divided horizontally into two portions; the lower is merely painted with imitations of hangings, the upper contains the subjects from the life of Moses and Christ. A description of these may not be out of place here. On the end wall, over and on each side of the altar, were three frescoes by Perugino, all afterwards destroyed to make room for the Last Judgment by Michael Angelo. The subject over the altar was the Assumption of the Virgin,—in this Pope Sixtus IV. was introduced, kneeling: on the left of this was Moses in the Bulrushes; on the right, Christ in the Manger; the other paintings still exist, more or less well preserved. Six subjects are on each of the side walls, and two on each side of the principal entrance. The subjects from the life of Moses on the left are all intended, like the first-named, to have a typical reference to the corresponding representations on the right, from the life of Christ. The order and relation are as follows:—1. Moses and Zipporah on their way to Egypt, the Circumcision of their Son (Exod. iv. 24) [Luca Signorelli]. 1. The Baptism of Christ [Perugino]. 2. Moses Overcoming the Egyptian, and again, Driving away the Shepherds who hindered the Daughters of Jethro from Drawing Water (Exod. ii. 11, 17) [Sandro Botticelli]. 2. The Temptation, or Christ Overcoming the Power of Satan [Sandro Botticelli]. 3. Moses and the Israelites after the Passage of the Red Sea [Cosimo Rosselli]. 3. The Calling of various Apostles (Peter, Andrew, James, and John) from the Lake of Genesareth [Domenico Ghirlandajo]. 4. Moses Giving the Commandments from the Mount [Cosimo Rosselli]. 4. Christ Preaching on the Mount [Cosimo Rosselli]. 5. The Punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who aspired, uncalled, to the priesthood (Numb. xvi. 31) [Sandro Botticelli]. 5. The Sacrament of Holy Orders, or Christ Giving the Keys to Peter [Perugino]. 6. Moses before his Death Giving his Last Commands to Joshua [Luca Signorelli]. 6. The Last Supper [Cosimo Rosselli]. 7. Michael, Victorious over Satan, bears away the Body of Moses (Jude 9) [Cecchino Baldi]. 7. The Resurrection [Domenico Ghirlandajo]. The two last-named pictures on each side of the principal entrance were materially injured

from the history of Moses; on the other, from that of Christ. Three subjects are by Sandro, to whom the superintendence of the work was intrusted—viz. Moses killing the Egyptian, the Rebellion of Korah, and the Temptation of Christ: they exemplify both the merits and defects of the artist: he painted besides twenty-eight figures of Popes between the windows.

The son of Fra Filippo Lippi, called, to distinguish him from his father, Filippino Lippi (1460–1505), was a scholar of Sandro Botticelli. The impetuous character and the occasionally mannered forms and drapery of the master were perpetuated in the scholar, but the incomparably higher gifts of the latter enabled him to attain a freedom and ease in which all resemblance to Sandro is frequently forgotten. There are some works by Filippino in which he appears as one of the greatest historical painters of his century; others, on the other hand, are in existence in which he sinks into the manner of his master, who outlived him. The rich ornamental decorations which he everywhere introduces in his architecture and other accessories were the result of his study of the Roman antiquities, which interested the painters of the fifteenth century more on account of their decorative character than on any principle of antique form.

Among Filippino's best and most finished historical works are those in the Brancacci chapel, in the Carmelite church at Florence, in which he successfully approaches the seriousness and genuine truth of Masaccio, although he never equals him in simplicity and repose. In point of beauty of conception and action the King's Son just raised from Death is not inferior to Masaccio's figures, and in point of naïve reality the same may be said of the sleeping guards in the subject of Peter delivered from Prison. Filippino's peculiar aim is, however, most clearly recognised in the following works.

by the sinking of the architrave, and were afterwards badly repaired. Many of these compositions contain more than one moment of time, and all are remarkable for the crowds of portrait-like spectators, in imitation of Masaccio. The two best are the Moses and Zipporah by Signorelli, and the Holy Orders by Perugino. Cosimo Rosselli, knowing the taste of the Pope, covered his paintings with gold (even the lights on the figures are sometimes thus heightened), and, to the dismay of the other painters, his Holiness expressed himself best pleased with Cosimo's performances. See Taja, *Descrizione del Vaticano*; and Plattner and Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*.—Ed.]

Having been summoned to Rome about 1492, he painted the Cappella Carafa in S. Maria sopra Minerva, which, according to the intentions of the founder, Cardinal Olivieri Carafa, was to contain the Glorification of the Madonna, and that of St. Thomas Aquinas. The latter subject occupies the right wall. Instead of the large symbolical compositions with which the fourteenth century decorated the church of S. Maria Novella at Florence, we here see a consistently sustained human interest, after the manner of the new tendency. St. Thomas appears enthroned with the four cardinal virtues, under a rich architecture decorated with cherub forms. His feet rest upon a prostrate heretic; several spectators are looking down from a gallery above. The most remarkable figures, however, are those of the teachers of false doctrine, on each side in the foreground, who display the most varied expressions of shame, grief, and mortification. Among them is Sabellius in a red mantle, the grey-headed Arius, and two richly clad boys. The Ecstasy of St. Thomas in the lunette above is of inferior value. The altar-piece contains an Annunciation, in which St. Thomas is presenting the kneeling figure of Cardinal Carafa to the Virgin, who, though in prayer, is stealing a glance at the angel entering on the other side. A lifted curtain shows a shelf of books and writing materials. On the wall beside and above the altar is the Assumption (now greatly over-painted). The Disciples looking upwards from the open grave are in excellent action, but appear less animated with devotion than with astonishment at the miracle. Having returned to Florence, Filippino painted the histories of the Apostles John and Philip upon the side walls of the chapel Filippo Strozzi, in S. Maria Novella. Here he distinguishes himself as a painter of emotions, of dramatic action, and of real life, omitting, it is true, the higher ecclesiastical meaning. The Resuscitation of Drusiana by St. John is one of his highest efforts.<sup>1</sup> The Apostle is pointing upwards with his right hand, while his left touches Drusiana, who, with the most marvellous expression of returning life, is raising herself upon the bier. The bearers are fleeing in terror, but a number of graceful female figures

<sup>1</sup> [See Mrs. Jameson's 'Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art,' vol. i. p. 138. —ED.]

remain in trembling attention, their frightened children clinging to their knees. Scarcely less excellent is the Apostle Philip exorcising the Dragon. The priests of the heathen temple are advancing resentfully down the steps, while the Apostle with a grand gesture exorcises the monster in the foreground. On the right, collected round the body of the King's son, whom the dragon has killed, is a finely expressed group of courtiers; on the left are standing other figures, shuddering at the creature and holding their hands before their faces at its pestilential breath. The figures are executed with peculiar energy and ease; the women are beautiful, the men dignified, and the forms throughout full of life; only the drapery is somewhat mannered and conventional.

As respects Filippino's other works we may mention a tabernacle at Prato, in the vicinity of S. Margherita, representing the Madonna and Child, with angels and saints on the sides. The work is much injured and also over-painted, but the few heads still preserved are of the highest grace and sweetness. Filippino's finest easel picture exists in the Badia (Abbey) at Florence (the chapel to the left of the principal entrance); the subject is the Virgin appearing to St. Bernard. The time is evening. The saint is seated writing in the open air—the convent behind him—when he is surprised by the apparition of the lovely Virgin, followed by a train of praying or curiously-peeping cherubs; till, in his astonishment, the pen is about to drop from his hand. This work is one of the earliest by the master, and betrays in every action the scholar of Sandro. Nowhere, however, has the realising tendency translated heavenly personages into earthly forms in a more charming manner. Other easel pictures by Filippino seldom do him entire justice. We must mention, however, a few exceptions, such as a Madonna enthroned with four saints, a youthful work of 1485, in the Uffizj Gallery; an Adoration in the same gallery, full of new features; and a picture in the Berlin Museum, the crucified Saviour with the Virgin and St. Francis. These figures are of the deepest expression. We trace upon the whole, in Filippino's works, no influence either on the part of Leonardo da Vinci, or Ghirlandajo, or any of his other more highly developed contemporaries.





CHRIST'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT, a fresco in the Sistine Chapel by Cosimo Rosselli

Another Florentine painter, employed under Sandro's direction in the Sistine chapel at Rome, was Cosimo Rosselli. His best work is a large fresco<sup>1</sup> in a very dark chapel in S. Ambrogio, at Florence, painted in 1456; it represents the removal of a miraculous sacramental cup from the church of S. Ambrogio to the bishop's palace. Here, as already remarked in the instance of Masaccio, the greater part of the composition consists of mere spectators; among these we find very pleasing female heads, and dignified male figures. The costume, which is that of the time, is finished with remarkable precision. Among Cosimo's best pictures may be mentioned an admirable Coronation of the Virgin, in S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, at Florence. There is also an excellent altar-piece by him in S. Ambrogio, a Madonna, with angels and saints at her feet. A Crucifixion surrounded by saints and angels, of a noble and animated character, was formerly in the collection of Mr. Ottley. Other works by the same painter, some not without interest, are in the Berlin Museum. His frescoes in the Sistine chapel—Pharaoh in the Red Sea, Moses giving the Commandments, Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and the Last Supper—have little interest.

In his earliest works Cosimo Rosselli had followed the manner of Fiesole, but he afterwards inclined to that of Masaccio. Another artist of this time, Benozzo Gozzoli, is distinctly mentioned as a scholar of Fiesole; and indeed his light and cheerful colouring and general mildness of expression have an affinity with the style of that master. In every other respect he differs widely from Fiesole, for of all the Italians he is precisely the painter who seems to have been first smitten with the beauty of the material world and its various appearances. His pictures overflow with the delighted sense of this beauty: he was the first to create rich landscape backgrounds, with trees, villas, cities, with rivers and richly-cultivated valleys, with bold rocks, &c. He enlivens this landscape most agreeably with animals of all kinds, dogs, hares, deer, and large and small birds, which are introduced wherever there is room. When the incident takes place in

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in Lasinio's Collection from the old Florentine Masters.

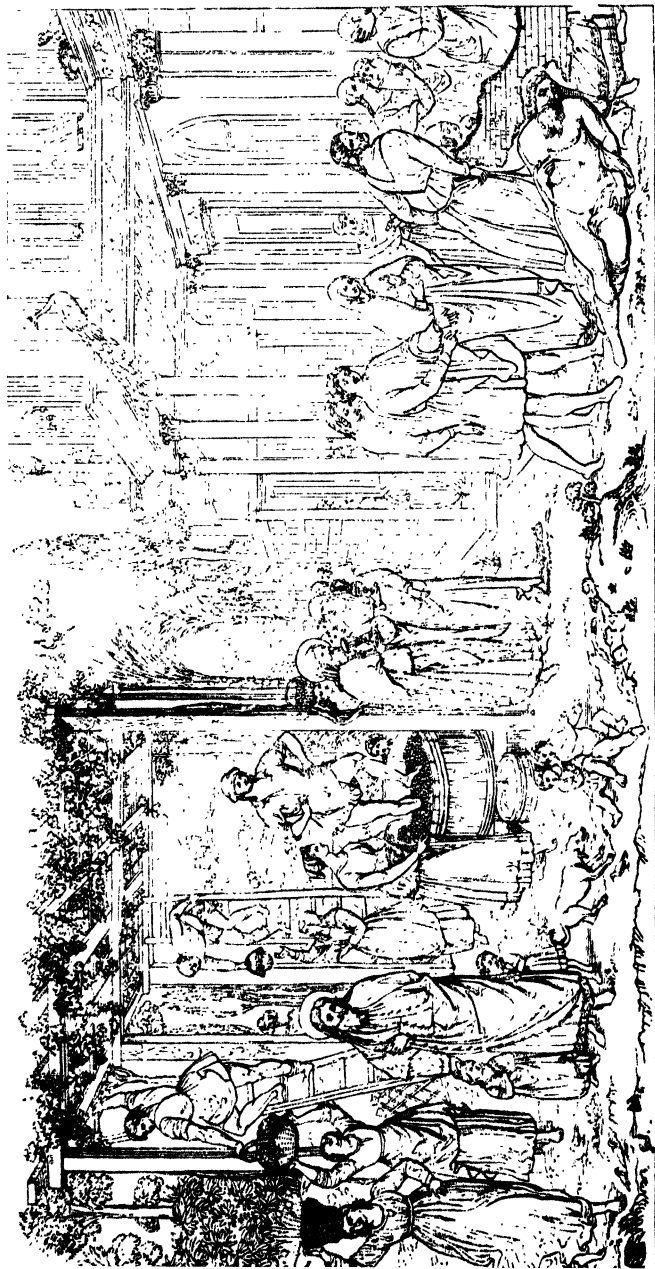


the interior of cities or dwellings, he displays the richest fancy for architectural forms, representing halls with open porticoes, elegant arcades, galleries, balconies, &c., all in a beautiful Florentine style. In the representations of the human figure, we find gaiety and whim, feeling and holy dignity, in the happiest union; but in this instance again, the artist, not satisfied with the figures necessary to the action, peoples landscape and architecture with groups, and very generally surrounds the principal actors with a circle of spectators, among whom are introduced portraits of the painter's contemporaries, to whom he has thus raised a memorial. In movement and cast of drapery, Benozzo's figures, taken singly, are often very graceful, although marked by an almost feminine timidity of gait and gesture; the heads are very expressive; the portraits true to nature, and delicately felt.

Among the earlier works of Benozzo may be mentioned the pictures of the Apostles and the Martyrs, executed after the year 1447, which form a portion of the Glory in the Last Judgment, commenced by Fiesole in the chapel of the Madonna di S. Brizio, in the cathedral of Orvieto. Also several paintings in the churches of S. Fortunato and S. Francesco at Montefalco (a little town not far from Fuligno), executed 1450, in which the resemblance to Fiesole is evident; and the decorations of the chapel of the Palazzo Medici (now Riccardi) at Florence. The altar-recess is here depicted as a garden of roses, with angels in prayer; the three principal walls of the chapel contain the procession of the three Kings, in a lively and multitudinous composition, while the altarpiece (no longer existing) contained the Adoration itself. Benozzo's entire peculiarities were, however, first developed in his later works of the year 1465, at S. Gemignano, near Volterra (those in S. Agostino are particularly deserving of mention),<sup>1</sup> but most completely in the large frescoes with which he embellished the whole north wall of the Campo Santo at

<sup>1</sup> [A letter of Benozzo's, dated S. Gemignano, 1467, is published in Dr. Gaye's collection, together with an extract from the journal of Giusto di Andrea, one of the painter's assistants in S. Agostino. Giusto particularises all the parts done by his own hand. Three other interesting letters, addressed by Benozzo to Pietro de' Medici in 1459, also published by Dr. Gaye, relate to the Adoration of the Magi, in the private chapel of the Medici.—Ed.]





NOAH AND HIS FAMILY, a fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa by Piero della Francesca

Pisa,<sup>1</sup> with the exception of that portion occupied by the works of Pietro di Puccio already mentioned. Benozzo executed the frescoes in question between the years 1469 and 1485; they form a continuation, both in situation and subject, of the works of Pietro, and represent the History of the Old Testament from the time of Noah to the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, in a thronged and overflowing series. The greater part is in good preservation, and forms one of the most interesting monuments of Art of the fifteenth century. Pictures on wood by Benozzo are rare; the most valuable specimen is now in the Louvre. This is another Glory of St. Thomas Aquinas, who is here seated enthroned upon a prostrate heretic, between Plato and Aristotle, while Christ appears above with the Four Evangelists. Quite below is seen Pope Sixtus IV., in the midst of an assembly of the Church. A Predella in the Vatican, representing the miracles of some Polish saint, in a series of animated scenes, is also ascribed to Benozzo. A much over-painted altar-piece of the year 1466—a Madonna with saints and angels—is now in the church of St. Andrew, near S. Gemignano. The illuminations also of a MS. Virgil in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence recall the style of Benozzo.\*

That which appears a youthful exuberance in Benozzo, assumes the character of manly energy, seriousness, and solidity, in a somewhat later painter;—this was Domenico Corradi, or Ghirlandajo (1451-95), one of the greatest masters of his own or any age, who carried to perfection what Massaccio had conceived and begun. The father of Domenico, Tommaso di Currado di Dafo Bighordi, was a goldsmith of repute in his time; it is said that the garlands which he manufactured for the Florentine women<sup>2</sup> were so much in

<sup>1</sup> C. Lasinio, Pitt. a fresco del Campo Sante di Pisa. Ottley, pl. 46 to 49.

<sup>2</sup> [Most of the great Florentine artists, sculptors and architects, as well as painters, were originally goldsmiths. The editors of the last editions and translations of Vasari enumerate Orgagna, Luca della Robbia, Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, Verrocchio, Andrea del Sarto, Cellini, and others. It has been remarked that the style of relief which is suitable to the precious metals (but which is unsuitable to marble or bronze) may have had its influence in forming the general taste of the Florentines in sculpture. The "garlands" above-mentioned were probably silver ornaments (see Vasari, Life of Ghirlandajo). In a severer age these ornaments were forbidden; in the extracts

favour, that he thence obtained the surname of Ghirlandajo, which descended to his son. The latter was also originally intended for a goldsmith, but early showed his talent for painting, in the striking likenesses he drew of the passers by, whilst yet a boy in his father's shop. His first teacher was Alessio Baldovinetti, a comparatively unimportant artist of the fifteenth century, born between 1420 and 1430, who, perhaps by the means of Flemish pictures brought to Florence, had attained an advanced knowledge in the life-like treatment of accessories, landscapes, &c. The direction which Art had now taken was carried to a perfection of a peculiar kind by Domenico Ghirlandajo; the aim of the artist in this instance was no longer external form for itself, no longer a beautiful and true imitation of the circumstances of nature in the abstract: it was a predilection for particular forms, for particular circumstances, and especially for grand and important relations of life, for the glory and dignity of his native city, which, as we have before remarked, had attained at this time the zenith of her greatness. The *portrait*, in the largest signification of the word, is the prominent characteristic in the productions of Ghirlandajo. Thus, above all, we find the *motive*—which in earlier masters appeared more the result of accidental observation—in him completely and consistently followed out. He introduced portraits of contemporaries into his church historical representations, thus raising to them an honourable memorial; not, however, introducing them as the holy personages themselves, as was the practice among the painters of the Netherlands, and in Germany. Simple and tranquil, in the costume of their time, these personages stand by as spectators, or rather witnesses, of the holy incident represented, and frequently occupy the principal place in the picture. They are generally arranged somewhat symmetrically in detached groups, thus giving to the whole a peculiarly solemn effect: in their relation to the actual subject of the

from the 'Archivio delle Riformazioni di Firenze,' published by Dr. Gaye (Carteggio d'Artisti), we read (March, 1307)—"Quod nulla mulier presumat deterre in capite coronam auream vel argenteam." A fashion alluded to in another prohibition of the same date explains the long trains of the women in the early Florentine pictures: "item quod nulla mulier audeat portare vestes trahentes (*sic*) ultra quod unum brachium per terram de retro."—*Ed.*]





THE CALLING OF PETER AND ANDREW, a fresco in the Pisan's Chapel by D. Ghirlandao.

picture, they may be compared with the chorus of the Greek tragedy. Ghirlandajo, again, usually places the scene of the sacred event in the domestic and citizen life of the time, and introduces, with the real costume of the spectators, the architecture of Florence, in the richest display and complete perspective, without degenerating into those fantastic combinations which we find in Benozzo Gozzoli. In addition to all this, it must not be forgotten that the cultivation of Art had softened the manners and education of the time to a gentle dignity and moderation, so that, even as regards the costume in the works of Ghirlandajo, nothing unpicturesque or quaint obtrudes to disturb the effect. The saints retain their well-known ideal drapery, not without reminiscences of the style of the fourteenth century. A third element is moreover apparent, derived from a particular study of antique motives of the light and animated kind, especially of antique drapery: this study is to be traced in accessory female figures. In the execution of the details a certain degree of severity is still observable, especially in the outlines; it can scarcely however be called a defect. The forms are perfectly well imitated, and the peculiarities of nature successfully caught. In the technical management of fresco Ghirlandajo exhibits an unsurpassed finish.

Among the earliest works of Ghirlandajo are those which he executed in emulation of the other artists employed in the decoration of the Sistine chapel. None of them exist at present except the Calling of Peter and Andrew, a clever picture, full of life. A Resurrection of Christ was obliterated to make way for the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo.<sup>1</sup> His fresco of St. Jerome, in the nave of the church of Ognissanti at Florence, is somewhat later in date (1480). The accessories present a perfect specimen of still-life painting in the manner of the Flemish painters of that time. A Last Supper in the refectory shows a successful endeavour to give to each head a characteristic expression. These works in Ognissanti are in a peculiarly simple and severe style. The

<sup>1</sup> [The author is mistaken in saying that a fresco by Ghirlandajo was destroyed to make way for the Last Judgment of M. Angelo: the three that were destroyed were all by Perugino. The Resurrection by Ghirlandajo, which is at the right of the principal entrance, was injured from another cause, and badly repaired. See note, p. 201.—ED.]

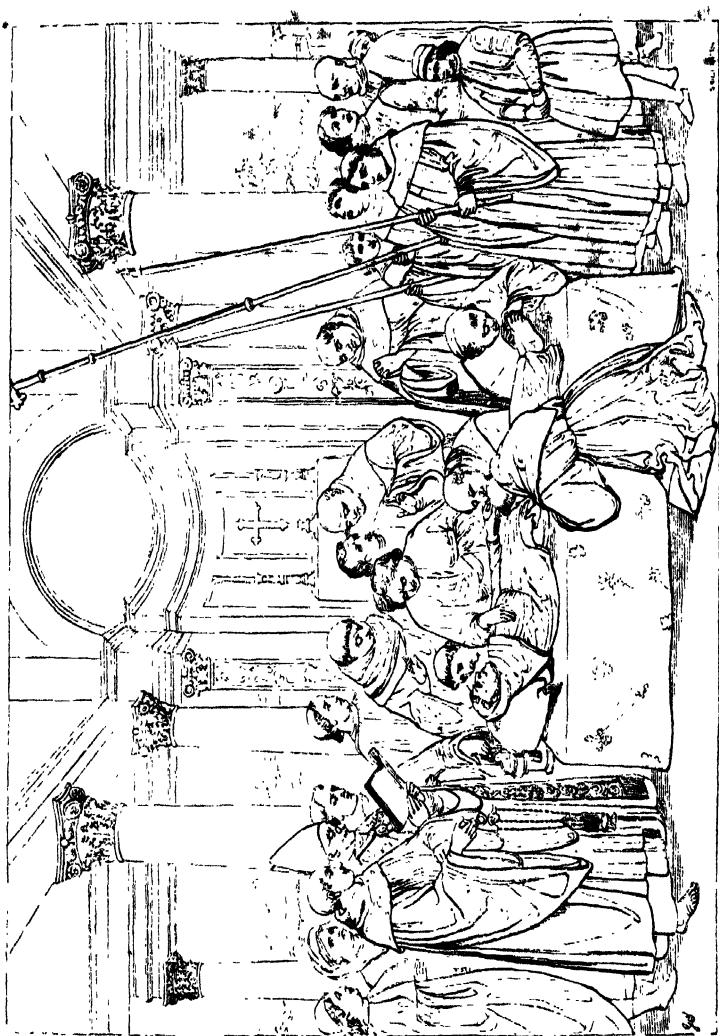


figure of St. Augustine, corresponding with that of St. Jerome above named, is by Sandro Botticelli.

In the frescoes of the Sassetti chapel in S. Trinità, at Florence, Ghirlandajo appears still more excellent in the treatment of the forms, in the free action of the figures, in the painting and lighting up of the flesh (which had been deficient in warmth in his earlier pictures), and in the expression and conception of life. They are inscribed with the date 1485, and represent events from the life of St. Francis. The Death of the Saint is the most beautiful of these pictures, and one of the few really historical works of Ghirlandajo. The simple, solemn arrangement of the whole; the artless, unaffected dignity of the single figures; the noble, manly expression of sorrowing sympathy; the perfection of the execution—combine to place this picture among the most excellent of modern Art. For the rest, the paintings in this chapel are not all of equal merit; in those on the left wall particularly, the assistance of scholars is very evident. The paintings which Ghirlandajo executed in the choir of S. Maria Novella at Florence, in 1490, are still more perfect in their general qualities; on one side is the Life of the Virgin, on the other that of John the Baptist; these works are excellent examples of the prominent characteristics of the master.<sup>1</sup>

The peculiar beauties of this painter's style are not so much developed in his easel pictures; these cannot in general lay claim to equal merit with his frescoes: he disturbs us also by a certain gaudiness, and especially by an inharmonious red. Among them, however, we find some very distinguished works, especially at Florence. At the church Agli Innocenti (belonging to the Foundling Hospital) is a beautiful Adoration of the Kings, dated 1488, in which are some excellent heads from nature, especially among the accessory figures. Another Adoration (a circular picture), of the preceding year, is in the gallery of the Uffizj. Two admirable pictures are in the Florentine Academy, both remarkable for very sweet and graceful Madonnas, which do not frequently occur in the works of Ghirlandajo. The one, of the year 1485, is the

<sup>1</sup> Ghirlandajo's paintings in S. Trinità and S. Maria Novella are engraved in Lasinio's collection of the works of early Florentine masters.









well-known Adoration of the Shepherds, where an antique sarcophagus serves as a crib. An excellent Visitation, 1491, is now in the Louvre. A Madonna, also, in a nimbus, with four saints, and a kneeling St. Jerome of especial grandeur of form and expression, is in the Berlin Museum.

His brothers Davide and Benedetto painted in his manner, and assisted him in his works, as did his brother-in-law Bastiano Mainardi, who, if not equal to Domenico in the management of the colours and in giving rotundity, has something peculiarly his own in his delicate conception of the characters of Christian saints; his best works are in the parish church of the town of San Gimignano, his birthplace, in the chapel of the Beata Fine.<sup>1</sup> The Ghirlandaj are said to have laboured here also. An Annunciation in the Baptistery of the same church is by Mainardi alone. Francesco Granacci, too, one of the scholars of Domenico, unites with his master's style a lighter grace, without, however, attaining the same life and energy. There are some good pictures by him in the Pitti Gallery, and in the Uffizj at Florence; several also in the Academy, where a series of small pictures, representing the Martyrdom of S. Apollonia, is particularly noted. At a later time Francesco inclined more to the manner of his great contemporary, Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, who, as well as Domenico's son, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, belongs to the succeeding period. Pictures by various masters of this school are in the transept of S. Spirito at Florence.

The last great period of Italian miniature-painting is connected with the school of the Ghirlandaj. It was no longer the feeling of devotion which exacted the utmost splendour in the decoration of the Holy Scriptures, but rather a habit of sumptuous luxury, and a desire for the artistic enhancement of every object of daily life. In the gorgeous border decorations, in the architecture of the backgrounds, are now introduced little genii with garlands of flowers, figures of the gods, &c., in the most gorgeous style of antique ornament. Besides the family of the Medici, and the numerous ecclesiastical bodies, it was Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, who principally patronized the Florentine miniature-painters.

<sup>1</sup> Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii. 286.

Of the works of one of the most renowned, the Abbot of S. Clemente, Don Bartolommeo della Gatta (died 1490), no authentic specimen has been preserved. The best among the works still existing are attributable to one Gherardo of Florence, who had been originally appointed by Lorenzo the Magnificent to decorate the cathedral with mosaics, and, for that purpose, had been brought into connection with Domenico Ghirlandajo. His miniatures combine the style of that master with an incredible splendour and delicacy of execution, which, in the Bible of Mathias Corvinus (about 1490), now in the Library of the Vatican, seems to have reached the utmost possible perfection. Various books, illuminated by Gherardo, are said to be in the archives of the parish hospital of S. Gilio, in Florence; a missal of 1494 is in the Laurentian Library; an illuminated missal, also executed for the King of Hungary by another Florentine, Attavante by name, is in the library of the Duke of Burgundy at Brussels; a breviary belonging to the Bishop of Graun is also in the Royal Library at Paris. These works are quite in the style of the Ghirlandaj, and are executed in the highest decorative taste.<sup>1</sup> The Urbino Bible, also in the Vatican, 1478, is obviously by some Florentine hand. In the Laurentian Library at Florence, there are still several manuscripts of classic authors, said to have been executed by order of Lorenzo the Magnificent, containing but few miniatures, properly speaking, but, on the other hand, a mass of beautiful and delicate decorations.

Whilst among the last-named masters a taste for portrait was predominant, among others a strong predilection for the study of the nude prevailed, a study which had been already promoted by the powerful example of Masaccio. Of these painters we may first mention Andrea del Castagno, who flourished about the middle of the century. His particular aim, a sharp, severe *modelling* of the form, degenerated through mannerism and exaggeration into a hard, meagre dryness. Some of his pictures in this style are in the Florentine

<sup>1</sup> See, in the German translation of Vasari, vol. ii. part ii. p. 186, &c., the dissertation of the Editor; also p. 181, &c., and the notes in vol. ii. part i. p. 330. Also Waagen, *Kunstw. und Kunstl. in Paris*, p. 365, &c. D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, plate 76.

Academy, others are in the Berlin Museum. He is more known in the history of Art by a heavy disgrace attached to his name, than by the small number of his works still in existence. Until his time, distemper colours had been used in painting, that is, colour mixed with yolk of egg and glutinous fluids, which dried quickly and required a rapid execution.<sup>1</sup> But in the beginning of the century oil-painting was so much improved by Johann van Eyck, in the Netherlands, that it began to be employed with the happiest effect. From him it had been learned as a secret, by an Italian, Antonello da Messina (of whom we shall again have occasion to speak), who imparted it as such to his friend Domenico Veneziano. The great sensation created by the pictures of the latter excited the envy of Andrea; he insinuated himself into the confidence of Domenico, while they painted together in S. Maria Nuova at Florence, and drew from him his secret. Domenico was of a light-hearted, joyous disposition, was fond of music, played well on the lute, and was assisted by Andrea when he serenaded his mistress. One evening Andrea allowed him to go alone, followed him secretly in the dark, and murdered him, that he might thus be without a rival in the art. On his death-bed he is said to have confessed his crime. This story of Vasari's, whether true or not, proves, at all events, that the introduction of oil-painting into Italy was sufficiently remarkable to warrant a narrative which had evidently passed from mouth to mouth before reaching Vasari. The improbable part is that relating to the secrecy observed regarding the new discovery, for even the Van Eycks themselves never attempted to withhold it from their own scholars and fellow-painters; so that, although Andrea might rid himself of a rival one day, another might rise up the next. Besides this, it is not yet ascertained whether the one authentic picture by Domenico (in S. Lucia at Florence, beyond the Arno) be painted in oil or distemper. The pictures we have mentioned by Andrea are obviously in distemper. The picture in question by Domenico rather varies, however, from the manner of the

<sup>1</sup> [On the tempera painting of the early masters, see Eastlake's 'Materials for a History of Oil Painting,' p. 100.—Ed.]



latter, and has something mild and noble in the expression, while it likewise evinces a good feeling for form.<sup>1</sup> It is to be assumed, also, that distemper, which offered so many advantages in the rapid painting of a large surface, yielded to oil-painting only by degrees, and toward the end of the century.

The study of the naked form was much advanced through the influence of sculpture: this art (particularly casting in bronze) was cultivated at the time in Florence with the greatest success, and more extensively than painting. The experience thus gained by an accurate anatomical knowledge of the human frame could not fail to be immediately transferred to painting. This was chiefly effected by two sculptors, who handled the pencil as well as the chisel,—Antonio Pollajuolo and Andrea Verocchio (or “the keen-sighted”), who both flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is said that Andrea first took plaster casts from the limbs, as materials for study. Both have left excellent works in sculpture: in painting they are less remarkable, and show too great an anxiety to mark the forms with anatomical correctness. There are some pictures by Antonio Pollajuolo in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence; two, with different Labours of Hercules, fully exemplify what we have just said; a third, with three saints standing together, is distinguished by a peculiar simple dignity and a powerful and brilliant colouring in the style of the school of Ferrara. A Coronation of the Virgin in the cathedral of S. Gimignano leaves the spectator quite unmoved. An Annunciation in the Berlin Museum is remarkable for clear colouring and for rich architectural decoration. The same subject was, however, treated in a freer and more graceful manner by Antonio’s brother Pietro, on a wall in the chapel of S. Giacomo in the church of S. Miniato at Florence. One picture by Verocchio exists in the Academy at Florence; it represents the Baptism of Christ, and was originally painted for the monastery of S. Salvi. It is said that one of the angels in this picture was painted by a scholar of Andrea’s, namely, Leonardo da Vinci, and that the master, seeing himself so much excelled by his pupil, gave up paint-

<sup>1</sup> [A letter from Domenico Veneziano to Pietro de’ Medici, dated Perugia, April, 1488, is given in Dr. Gage’s collection.—Ed.]









THE "PULMINATIO" DESTRUCTION OF THE WICKED; part of a fresco by  
Luca Signorelli in the Duomo of Orvieto. page 215

ing for ever. We trace also in this otherwise not very remarkable picture the main features of Leonardo's style. Verocchio himself appears here to be related in style to Andrea del Castagno, especially in thorough modelling and rigid reality. We shall return later to Leonardo and some other of Andrea's scholars.

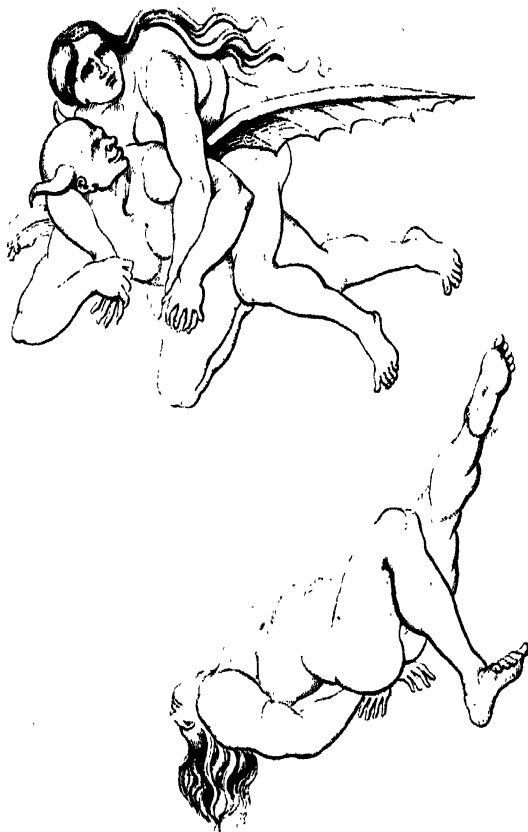
This peculiar aim attained its perfection in another master of the Tuscan school, Luca Signorelli of Cortona, who flourished about the close of the fifteenth century (1440-1521). He was the scholar of Piero della Francesca, of Borgo S. Sepolcro, who was employed at the Court of Urbino about the middle of the fifteenth century, and who, without belonging to any particular school, seems to partake alike of the Paduan, Umbrian, and Florentine styles. According to Vasari, he extended the study of perspective. A fine and simple fresco by the hand of this artist (1451) is in S. Francesco at Rimini: other frescoes, representing the Finding of the Cross, are in S. Francesco at Arezzo, and some are in his native place. His own efforts, and those of his fellow Tuscans, at a more natural mode of representation, were now carried on and developed by Luca Signorelli in a higher sense. Even among the different artists who painted in the Sistine chapel in the Vatican, he was distinguished as one of the best. He represented the Journey of Moses with Zipporah, and the closing events of the lawgiver's life—both very grand pictures; the figures have meaning and dignity, and the draperies are well treated. His peculiar powers were best developed in the frescoes with which he embellished the chapel Della Madonna di S. Brizio in the cathedral at Orvieto.<sup>1</sup> Here the whole space is dedicated to the representation of the Last Judgment and the history of Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> Fiesole had already depicted the

<sup>1</sup> Engravings in Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto*, Roma, 1791. Ottley, pl. 52 to 54.

<sup>2</sup> The usual Biblical and theological subjects which appear to have been authorized during the middle ages were adopted by the great painters, with no other change than that of superior treatment. These illustrations existed originally in illuminated MSS.; and when wood-engraving was invented, the same subjects, and sometimes precisely the same designs, were repeated. The wild mystery called the History of Antichrist may perhaps be less ancient, or, being probably of Greek origin, may have been less known among the Italian and German painters than the usual Scriptural and legendary subjects. The block-book, '*Der Enkrist*,' printed about 1470, was not however the first

Saviour as Judge, with the Prophets, on the back wall and vaulted roof, and Benozzo the Apostles and Martyrs. Luca now completed the work, not, it is true, in the sense in which Fiesole had begun it, but with a grandeur which, excepting Leonardo da Vinci, no master partaking of the realistic tendency of the fifteenth century has surpassed. The chief works are four large representations on the two side walls: here the history of Antichrist is depicted with figures full of character, also the Resurrection, Hell, and Paradise, compositions all replete with meaning, action, and expression, consisting chiefly of naked figures. A severe but perfect and noble drawing of the nude is observable in these pictures; and a number of new positions of the body, never attempted in art before, are introduced with careful study and success. With the highest development also of plastic power, the anxious striving for mere anatomical correctness is no longer apparent, but gives place to a peculiar grandeur and elevation stamped alike on scenes of tranquillity and beatitude, and on representations of vehement and fantastic action. We are in every way reminded of the style of Michael Angelo, of whom Luca was the immediate predecessor, if not the contemporary. Here is the same subordination of all the merely accidental to the living majesty of the pure human form, only, it is true, not conceived with Michael Angelo's almost superhuman grandeur. In drapery also Luca exhibits high excellence, and in the single figures a happy imitation of the antique. The lower part of the walls is occupied with decorative subjects in chiaroscuro, with the circular pictures of those poets who have described the Lower Regions, such as Hesiod and Virgil (in reference to the Sixth

that added this series of representations to those in general use, since a similar work, the '*Historia Sancti Johannis Evangeliste, ejusque visiones Apocalypticæ*,' appeared more than twenty years earlier. Luca Signorelli appears to have adopted his general inventions at Orvieto (the frescoes were begun in 1499) from these or similar sources. A sufficient proof may be found in the fact that the remarkable fable of the beheading of Elijah and Enoch in both the illustrations alluded to (apparently suggested by a passage in the Apocalypse, xi. 7) also occurs in Signorelli's principal fresco, and this is but one among many points of resemblance. The German author, or artist, constantly refers to a '*Compendium Theologicum*' ("davon stat auch geschrieben in dem buck Compendie Theologie"), a book or MS. probably in the hands of most masters of the fifteenth century. See also the rubric '*De Adventu Domini*,' in the *Antea Legenda*.—ED.]



Figures from Luca Signorelli's fresco of HELL, in the Duomo at Orvieto  
page 216.





Book of the *Æneid*), Claudius (in reference to the Rape of Proserpine), and Dante, all surrounded with numerous smaller representations of an allegorical and mythical nature, which, with the freedom characteristic of the period, are mixed up unreservedly with the chief subjects.

In his native city of Cortona also there are works by this master; several are in the choir of the Duomo. A Last Supper by him, in the church of Gesù in the same city, is a singular and expressive picture.<sup>1</sup> Here, instead of being seated as usual at a long table, the disciples kneel at each side of Christ, who stands in the midst distributing the holy meal. The frescoes which Luca Signorelli executed in the monastery of Monte Uliveto Maggiore, from the life of S. Benedict, are not less excellent: several works by the same master are preserved in the Florentine galleries; among them may be especially mentioned a Virgin and Child, with shepherds in the distance; this specimen is in the gallery of the Uffizj. In some of these pictures we observe influences of the sixteenth century, which, however, do not combine quite happily with the peculiarities of Signorelli's style. In the gallery of the Berlin Museum are two excellent side-panels of an altar-piece, with figures of different saints. Here the sharpness and decision of the forms peculiar to Luca are united with a profound and beautiful expression, in the manner of the Umbrian school. The altar-piece also of the Cappella S. Onofrio, in the cathedral of Perugia (painted 1484), a Madonna enthroned, with saints, combines in some portions a very harsh naturalism (for instance in S. Onofrio himself) with a noble sentiment. As regards the whole execution, however, and the stern glow of colour, it may be considered a chef-d'œuvre of the master.

<sup>1</sup> Engraving in the Etruria Pittrice.

## CHAPTER II.

## SCHOOLS OF PADUA AND VENICE.

AMONG the Florentines the study of form was chiefly pursued on a principle of direct reference to nature, their especial object being an imitation of the common appearances and circumstances of life. A similar tendency shows itself also in certain painters of Upper Italy, for instance in Vittore Pisano, called Pisanello, a Veronese (died 1451), who painted in the Lateran at Rome conjointly with Gentile da Fabriano. His chiefly slender figures partake, in action and character, somewhat of the tender grace of the foregoing period, after the manner of Gentile. They also harmonize with the old-fashioned mode of execution. In his efforts, however, to represent living action, the foreshortening of the figure, and other problems in art, Pisanello approaches nearer to Masaccio. Many of his works have been preserved in Verona; the frescoes of an Annunciation in S. Fermo, and a painting on wood in the gallery of the Palazzo del Consiglio—a Madonna seated in a flower-garden with angels and saints—both graceful and attractive works, have been attributed to him. The small pictures with the history of St. Bernard, in the Sacristy of S. Francesco at Perugia, also supposed to be his, are of a more mechanical order, and belong probably to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Later, in his celebrated medals,<sup>1</sup> Pisanello inclines still more decidedly to the manner of the fifteenth century.

The study of form was very differently developed in the Paduan school. Here, on the contrary, the masterpieces of antique sculpture, in which the common forms of nature were already raised to an ideal beauty, were taken as immediate models, by means of which the artist hoped to attain the desired end. This direction may be compared with that already spoken of as existing among the contemporaries of the celebrated sculptor Nicola Pisano; but it is more decided in

<sup>1</sup> [The medals of Vittore Pisano are well known. For a list of his principal works of this kind, see Paolo Giovio and Vasari.—ED.]

the Paduan school, and carried out more exclusively, particularly as regards the early Christian representations, to which but little attention was now paid. The occasional imitation of the antique, which we have remarked among the Florentines of the fifteenth century, is to be considered as merely accidental, and may perhaps be ascribed to a direct influence of the Paduan school.

This school has consequently the merit of having been chiefly instrumental in introducing the rich results of an earlier, long-forgotten excellence in art (*viz.* the remains of antique sculpture) to modern practice, and of having led the way in applying them. We shall seek, however, in vain for a deeper comprehension of the idealising principle of classic art. What the Paduans borrowed from the antique was limited at first to mere outward decoration, and subsequently to the desire for the utmost possible plastic representation of form. In truth the peculiarity of this school consists in a style of conception and treatment more plastic than pictorial. The forms are severely and sharply defined: the drapery is often ideally treated according to the antique costume—so much so, that, in order to allow the forms of the body to appear more marked, it seems to cling to the figure. The general arrangement more frequently resembles that of *bassorilievo* than of rounded groups. The accessories display in like manner a special attention to antique models, particularly in the architecture and ornaments: the imitation of antique embellishments is very perceptible in the frequent introduction of festoons of fruit in the pictures of this school. It is remarkable to observe how the study of antique sculpture, combined as it was with the naturalizing tendency of the day, led to an exaggerated sharpness in the marking of the forms, which sometimes bordered on excess. In the drapery, the same imitation led to the use of a multitude of small, sharp, oblique folds, which break the large flowing lines, and sometimes even injure the effect of the leading forms. The execution of the details, namely in the accessories, has, in some cases, so strong a resemblance to the Flemish school, that attempts have been made to trace its influence. With the exception, however, of the Neapolitans, whose imitation of

Van Eyck was notorious, we trace far less the direct influence of this school than the original and parallel development of native Italian realism. The founder of this school was Francesco Squarcione, 1394-1474. This artist travelled in Italy and Greece, collecting as many remains of ancient art as he could—statues, torsos, reliefs, vases, &c.—and made drawings from such specimens besides. On his return to Padua he threw open his collection, which surpassed in extent all others of the time: it soon attracted a great number of scholars, anxious to avail themselves of the advantages it offered. By these scholars, who poured in from all parts of Italy, the manner of the school was afterwards spread throughout a great portion of the country. Squarcione himself is more distinguished as an excellent teacher than as an artist; the few of his works which remain are unimportant. Among them may be mentioned a not very graceful Madonna and Child, with a monk as donor, in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice, with the artist's name and the date 1442. These are unlovely and harshly-drawn forms, with an ugly character of drapery; though, in point of modelling, executed with great decision. A similar picture is in the collection of the Palazzo del Consiglio at Verona, representing the Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl; this has at least the evidence of very careful study.

As, however, the artistic merit of Squarcione, and his influence upon Mantegna, to judge from the few pictures existing by him, can never be too highly appreciated, the works of a fellow artist (more a colleague than a pupil) assume the more importance: we mean Giacomo Bellini of Venice. Of the genuine pictures by this master, few have been preserved; but, on the other hand, a large volume, containing 99 drawings by his hand, has descended to us.<sup>1</sup> This work, which is now in the possession of M. Mantovani of Venice, is inscribed at the beginning with the name of the master, and the date 1430 (probably the year when it was commenced). The contents consist of sacred subjects, and of studies from the antique, partly in architecture and partly in

<sup>1</sup> See Gaye's *Essay on Giacomo Bellini's drawings*, already mentioned, *Kunstbl.*, 1840, No. 23 to No. 35; and Passavant's *addenda* to it, No. 53.

costume. Here the grand and peculiar tendency of the Paduan school is expressed in the most complete and comprehensive manner. They constitute the most remarkable link of connection with Mantegna, who, perhaps, studied immediately from them. As respects the acknowledged genuine pictures of Giacomo Bellini, one, a Crucifixion (much over-painted), is in the Sacristy of the episcopal palace at Verona; and another, a Madonna, is in the Art Institution of Count Tadini at Lovere (not far from Bergamo). This last picture recalls the treatment of Gentile da Fabriano, whose scholar Giacomo was. In the drawings just mentioned, the influence of Gentile could be little, if at all, perceptible, his distinguishing peculiarities consisting more in decided modes of expression and colouring than in any particular conception of form. It suffices, however, to know that Giacomo always prided himself on his early connection with Gentile.

Of the scholars of Squarcione, the most important was Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), a painter whose influence, direct and indirect, affected almost all the schools of Italy. In him the realising tendency of the age took the form of a steady aim at optical illusion, though his innate poetry and power of invention, with the study from the antique, preserved him in most cases from the degenerating consequences of such a pursuit. From an artist who, for instance, in an altar-piece destined for an elevated position, made his more distant figures retreat so far back as only to be visible to the knees—from such an artist only the power of representing common reality might have been expected. Mantegna's men and women, however, are complete and significant beings, full of spirit and character, and even occasionally of an austere beauty, which gives them a peculiar charm. In many instances, it is true, he is hard and portrait-like; harsh, and even mean in sentiment. In an Entombment, for instance, he has made the St. John screaming aloud. Nevertheless, his works, taken generally, leave an impression of great meaning; and whoever objects to his having laid too much stress upon modelling, chiaroscuro, and perspective, forgets that a period for the cultivation of such departments was an absolutely necessary step in the development of art.

Mantegna was a Paduan by birth, but, having been invited to the court of Lodovico Gonzaga, in Mantua, that city became the chief theatre of his exertions. His works originally executed there are, however, for the most part destroyed or dispersed in foreign museums; a few only remain in the Castello di Corte. A saloon of this castle, which now bears the name of the "Stanza di Mantegna," was originally covered with frescoes; some of them, representing incidents from the life of Lodovico Gonzaga, are still to be seen—mere portraits, admirably true in individual character, but sufficiently stiff in the general treatment. A group of Genii holding an inscribed tablet over a door is very natural and full of life.<sup>1</sup> Another, on the ceiling of the same saloon, was painted by his sons. The cartoons,<sup>2</sup> executed by Mantegna at the instance of the same prince, for the saloon of a palace near the monastery of St. Sebastian at Mantua, are more important than the frescoes. These drawings executed in water-colours are nine in number, each nine feet square, and are at present in the palace at Hampton Court in England. The subject is the Triumphal Procession of Cæsar, a grand and very spirited composition, in which an intimate knowledge of the antique is united in the happiest manner with a feeling for nature and reality. These works have suffered, and are much painted over. Mantegna, who was also one of the finest engravers of Italy, engraved many parts of this great composition himself.

If, on the one hand, these subjects thus borrowed from classic history exhibit some corresponding imitation of antique forms, the frescoes of the church Degli Eremitani at Padua display, on the other, all the originality of the painter with a perfection the more surprising in a youthful work. Here it was that Mantegna, assisted by other scholars of Squarcione, by Bono Ferrarese, Ansuino, and also Niccolo Pizzolo, painted the chapel of SS. Jacobo and Cristoforo; the whole left side, with the life of St. Jacob, being his work, as well as the last

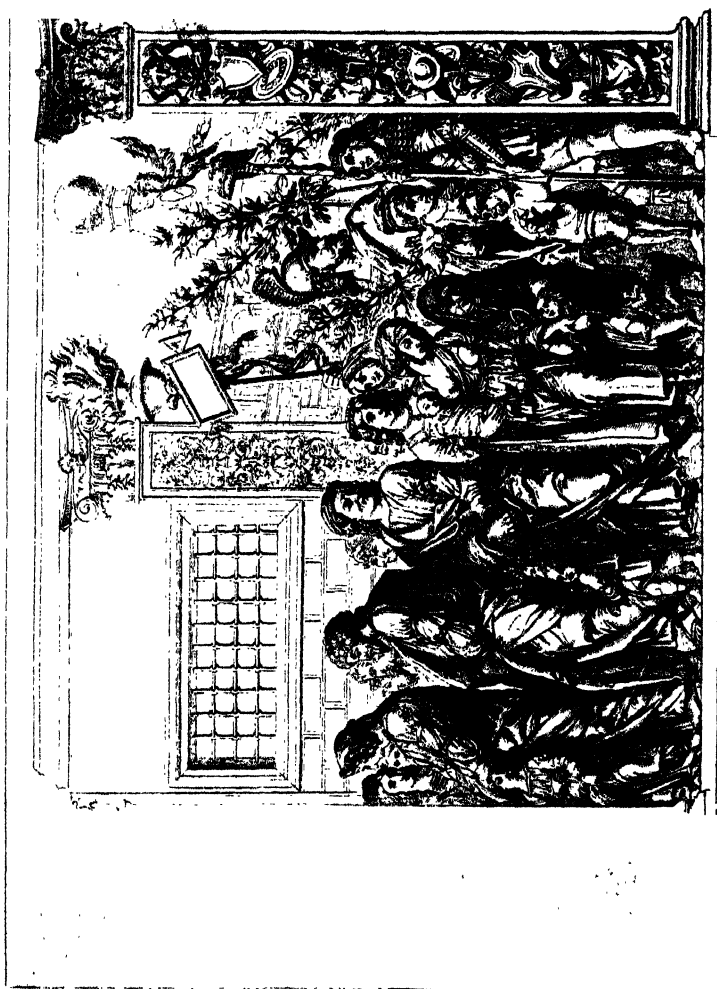
<sup>1</sup> [The butterfly wings of these Genii—admirable for truth, vividness of colour, and perfection in finish—remind us of a similar love for these winter features of living Nature, exhibited by Albert Durer and our own Stothard.]

<sup>2</sup> Goethe's Works, vol. xxix. p. 141-176.—C. Julii Cæsaris dictatoria triumphus ab Andrea Mantinea coloribus expressi aeneis typis Dominici de Rubais, Romæ, 1692.











picture in the history of St. Christopher, the Martyrdom of the Saint. Art here assumes the garb of the most living reality, the story being no longer merely symbolically expressed, but entirely told. The forms are complete in colour, foreshortening, chiaroscuro, and perspective; the single figures also, in order to bring them as near life as possible, bear the features of contemporary personages. One feels a deep respect for the painter in tracing with what energy he sought to discover the real point of sight, and also made trial of various principles of perspective foreshortening, till he discovered the present recognised rules; and yet, with all this striving at positive truth, Mantegna keeps aloof from whatever is vulgar or low. Finally, we admire in these frescoes a technical skill far exceeding any hitherto known, amounting in careful finish to the elaborate execution of an oil-painting, and which, however unsuited to the nature of a fresco, demonstrates the energetic will of the painter. These works have, however, paid the penalty of this mistaken finish in an extent of ruin in which it is impossible to discriminate how far the process really partook of the nature of fresco-painting.<sup>1</sup>

The most celebrated of Mantegna's easel pictures—a large altar-piece representing a Madonna surrounded by saints, with Francesco Gonzaga and his wife kneeling at her feet, is still more remarkable than these cartoons. It is a dedication-picture for a victory obtained by Gonzaga over Charles VIII. of France in 1495, and among the Italians is known by the name of the "Madonna della Vittoria."<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable for its admirable execution, and, which is rare in the works of Mantegna, for a peculiarly soft treatment of the naked forms, as well as an agreeable mildness of character. It is now in the museum of the Louvre. Among other pictures by Mantegna in Paris, two, with mythic-allegoric figures, are distinguished by similar qualities. In the forms of the naked children and of some of the dancing Muses, Mantegna approaches to the most finished grace of style; all harshness

<sup>1</sup> [The colouring of these frescoes—heavy and unattractive—contrasts with the glow and brilliancy of Mantegna's later works:—often so deeply stamped with the influences of his great contemporary Gian Bellini.]

<sup>2</sup> Propyläen herausgegeben von Goethe, iii. st. 2, p. 48.

and restraint has yielded to the pure worship of the beautiful. Next in excellence to the Vittoria is a *Pietà*<sup>1</sup> (a Dead Christ between two angels), in the Berlin Museum. The head of the Saviour is extremely grand in its forms; the expression of the angels, especially of the one in soft half-shadow, is full of soul.

One of the most important of Mantegna's easel-pictures in Italy is that over the altar in the church of S. Zeno, in Verona—a Madonna enthroned, with angels and four saints on each side. Rich architecture, adorned in front with festoons of fruit, surrounds the composition. The Madonna, on whose lap the Infant is standing, is unaffected, dignified, and sweet. Some of the saints also have admirable heads, and are grandly draped. A lower series of subjects, which, since the picture was carried off by the French, have never been recovered, contained the Mount of Olives, the Crucifixion, and the Ascension. Not less excellent is an Entombment, in the gallery of the Vatican at Rome. A youthful work also, of the year 1454, St. Euphemia with the Lion, in the Studj gallery at Naples, is, in the grand and earthly beauty of the saint, one of the finest types that Mantegna created. Some small pictures, remarkable for peculiar neatness of finish and accurate study, are in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence; the most important is a small altar-piece representing the Adoration of the Kings, and on the side panels the Circumcision and Ascension of Christ. Other specimens are in the public collections of Milan, Naples, &c. Like other Paduan artists, Mantegna painted pictures in *chiaroscuro*, which, in some respects, may be considered as painted reliefs. One of the most excellent works of this description, now in Mr. Vivian's collection in London, represents the Triumph of Scipio, in figures of noble action, and of a masterly character of drapery after the antique. Among the scholars of Mantegna, his sons may be first mentioned, particularly Francesco; it appears, from the instance above referred to, that they finished or continued his works at Mantua: also Bernardo Parentino, who in manner nearly approaches the master.

<sup>1</sup> [The term "*Pietà*," is appropriated by the Italians to pictures of the dead Saviour, generally in the lap of the Madonna.—Ed.]



THE TRIUMPH OF SCIPIO: painted in charcoals by Andrea Mantegna, drawn from the original in the  
Collection of G. Vivian Esq.  
page 224.





PIETÀ, by Andrea Mantegna, in the Berlin Museum

page 54.





Others, such as Carotto, &c., belong to the succeeding period.

The remaining pupils of Squarcione cannot be placed in the same rank with Mantegna. Among them are Gregorio Schiavone and Girolamo da Treviso;<sup>1</sup> specimens of their works are to be found in the Venetian territory. Marco Zoppo, a Bolognese, is commonly considered one of the best: in his pictures, however, all the peculiarities of the school are exaggerated in a barbarous manner; his figures have always a sort of clownish coarseness; his drapery is arranged, or rather mis-arranged, in heavy rolls. Only in the accessories of his pictures are we reminded of the excellence of the school, and also of a Flemish mode of treatment. His principal work (1471), in which his unpleasant manner is the most apparent, was formerly at Pesaro, and is now in the Berlin Museum. It represents the Madonna enthroned, with saints at her side. Of a similar rudeness of character is a Madonna and Child, with Cherubs, in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice.<sup>2</sup>

Stefano da Ferrara, a pupil of Mantegna's, appears to have been an artist of more merit: his works, of which there are many in the Brera gallery at Milan, have a peculiarly fantastic character. This same manner is exaggerated to caricature in the works of a contemporary artist, Cosimo Tura of Ferrara, called "*Il Cosmè*:" one of his best, a Madonna and saints, under splendid but overloaded architecture of the most careful Paduan execution, is in the Berlin Museum. The illuminations of a missal by him in the cathedral of Ferrara contain meagre and unpleasant figures in gaudy colouring. Cosimo was the scholar of an earlier Ferrarese artist of note, Galasso alassi.

<sup>1</sup> [The elder Girolamo da Treviso, probably a scholar of Squarcione, painted between 1470-1492. Dario da Treviso, another scholar, painted in S. Bernardino in Bassano together with Mantegna, to whom however he was inferior. Lastly, the younger Girolamo da Treviso, called *Juniore*, and who was the best of the three, is the painter of whom Vasari writes. A work by him—a Madonna with Saints—formerly in the church of S. Domenicco at Bologna, and, according to Vasari, the best production of the artist, was in the possession of the late Mr. Edward Solly. Some important works by the younger Girolamo da Treviso are in a church near Faenza.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> Both pictures are inscribed with the artist's name, "Marco Zoppo da Bologna," and "Zoppo di Squarcione." The graceful picture which is ascribed to him, in the Gallery of Bologna, can thus hardly be genuine.

With these may be connected the names of some late Ferrarese artists, in whose hands the style of the Paduan school appears to have been peculiarly developed. The most prominent are Francesco Cossa and Lorenzo Costa, who were both employed by Giovanni Bentivoglio, while he held the supreme sway in Bologna. A Madonna with saints, dated 1474, by the first-named artist, is in the gallery of Bologna. A Madonna enthroned, with the family of the donor kneeling round her, by the latter, is in the Bentivoglio chapel in S. Giacomo. This picture is of the year 1488. There is a resemblance between the pictures; both are characterized by a simple, coarse conception of nature, allied to the Paduan manner.<sup>1</sup> Opposite the last-named work are two large allegorical subjects—the Triumph of Life and Death (the carriage of the first drawn by elephants, of the second by buffaloes, also by Lorenzo Costa; although the figures still want life); these compositions are not without indications of feeling, which announce the development of this artist's style at a later period. But as this was owing to the influence of another master, Francesco Francia, it will be better explained when we treat of that artist. Prior even to the last-mentioned works, Lorenzo had painted pictures on wood and on canvas for several chapels in S. Petronio: these are still in the same place, but most of them in ruined condition.

The scholars formed by Lorenzo at Ferrara adopted, on the whole, the fantastic manner which we have remarked among the elder Ferrarese artists. To these scholars belong Ercole Grandi, a painter of whom no very important work now remains (two small pictures on wood, hard and sharp execution, and of a peculiar impassioned mode of conception exist, however, in the Dresden gallery<sup>2</sup>), and Lodovico

<sup>1</sup> ["A simple, coarse conception of nature" hardly seems at first sight to characterize a school which had the merit of introducing the regular study of the antique; but the Paduan artists may be said to have rather copied antique fragments than antique taste and beauty. A hard and dry imitation of lifeless models led to a correct but indiscriminate imitation of nature. The principles of selection and generalization which the antique might teach seemed to be quite foreign to the aim of these painters. On the other hand, their hard, conscientious truth, it must be admitted, often made amends for all defects by the charm of individuality.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> [A specimen of this artist, representing the Conversion of St. Paul, is

Mazzolino, who flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century. An inclination to the singular and romantic pervades Lodovico's pictures, in which certain antique *motives* in attitude and drapery appear to be adopted more from caprice than true feeling; the heads are sharply characterized, sometimes even to exaggeration. The colouring, particularly in the draperies, is powerful and bright. The most important of his works is in the Museum of Berlin; it furnishes an example of all we have said. It is marked with the date 1524, and represents Christ with the Doctors in the Temple. The youthful Christ is very graceful, but the wondering countenances of the Scribes and Pharisees are painted with very amusing quaintness. A great number of Mazzolino's pictures are in the same museum. In the Doria palace at Rome, and in the gallery of the Capitol, are also two pictures by this artist, both representing the last-named subject. That in the Doria palace is ascribed to Dosso Dossi, and the other to Lippi. A very rich and animated work of Mazzolino's, representing the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host, though, like most of the productions of the master, overfilled in composition, is in Mr. Solly's collection at London.<sup>1</sup>

Another Ferrarese of this time, Domenico Panetti, is similar in style, and still clings to the early masters, though without the fantastic turn of Mazzolino. An Entombment, inscribed with his name, but of no great value, is in the Berlin Museum.

We now return once more to the Paduan school, a decided affinity to which is again apparent in Melozzo da Forlì, who, to judge from his works, may have been a scholar of Squarcione. That he also studied under Piero della Francesca, whom we have already mentioned as the master of Luca Signorelli, there is no doubt. On the vaulted ceiling of a chapel in the church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, he executed a work (1472) which in those times can have admitted of comparison with few. When the chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century<sup>2</sup> some fragments were saved. That comprehending

the National Gallery. The works of Mazzolino are less rare; two by him are in the same collection.—Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> [The greater part of the Solly collection is now dispersed.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> See D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 142.

the Creator between angels was removed to a staircase in the Quirinal Palace, while single figures of angels were placed in the sacristy of St. Peter's. These detached portions suffice to show a beauty and fulness of forms, and a combination of earthly and spiritual grandeur, comparable in their way to the noblest productions of Titian, although in mode of execution rather recalling Correggio. Here, as in the cupola frescoes of Correggio himself, half a century later, we trace that constant effort at true perspective of the figure, hardly in character, perhaps, with high ecclesiastical art; the drapery also is of a somewhat formless description, but the grandeur of the principal figure, the grace and freshness of the little adoring cherubs, and the elevated beauty of the angels are expressed with an easy naïveté, to which only the best works of Mantegna and Signorelli can compare. Another fresco in the gallery of the Vatican is ascribed to Melozzo; it represents Pope Sixtus IV. giving audience to several persons: it is a hard picture, but full of individual truth of character.

In Verona we find many traces of the Paduan school, mixed, however, with other influences. We shall return to this subject hereafter.

It was not so in Milan. One of the most distinguished painters there was Vincenzo Foppa the elder, a native of Brescia, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. One of his best pictures is a Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, a work taken from the church of the Brera, and now placed in the gallery: it displays a rigorous study of form. In decision of drawing, however, and in knowledge of modelling and colour, it is far behind the productions of the Paduan artists. His contemporary, Vincenzio Civerchio the elder, resembles him. The frescoes of this painter of the Legend of St. Anthony, in the Chapel of that saint in S. Pietro in Gessate at Milan, are still in existence. They are not of any particular merit. Another contemporary, Bernardino Buttinone (flourished 1451-1481), painted the chapel of S. Ambrogio in the same church. Bernardo Zenale, of Treviglio (born 1436), appears to have possessed greater talent. He attached himself ultimately to the manner of Leonardo da Vinci, and is chiefly known by his later works. Here we must also mention

Bernardino de' Conti (de Comitibus). A picture of a boy by him (1496) is in the gallery of the Capitol. Also a very characteristic portrait of a cardinal in the Berlin Museum.

A more decided influence of the Paduan school upon that of Milan is apparent in Bramantino the elder, who lived before 1455, and was probably called Agostino. At all events, to him is ascribed that aim at optical illusion and that knowledge of perspective which are evidences of the Paduan school, and which are exhibited in two pictures in the Berlin Museum, hitherto wrongly designated by the name of Bramantino the younger. One is a Madonna between two saints, who are presenting to her a number of the faithful; the other, an allegorical female figure upon a throne, with a male figure of excellent individual character kneeling before her. The celebrated Donato Lazzari, called Bramante of Urbino, was a pupil of Bramantino's (perhaps also of Piero della Francesca<sup>1</sup>). He laboured both as an architect and painter, in and around Milan, from 1476 to 1499. No authentic picture by him is, however, in existence. His scholar, Bramantino the younger, or more properly Bartolommeo Suardi, is more celebrated as a painter. One of his best works, a large fresco representing the Madonna enthroned with two angels, is in the Brera at Milan. It is distinguished by an extremely soft modelling, and a clear colour of the nude; the expression is rather strange, and yet attractive, Suardi having aimed always at the striking more than at the simply beautiful. The light comes partly from below, reflected from the floor. Among the works of this artist preserved in Milan, a Dead Christ mourned by the Marys is particularly celebrated: it is over the door of the church of S. Sepolcro; the foreshortening of

<sup>1</sup> The education of Bramante as a painter is generally ascribed to Pietro della Francesca, an artist who was employed at the court of Urbino about the middle of the fifteenth century, and whose works exhibit some affinity with the school of Padua. This artist is chiefly celebrated for having advanced the knowledge of perspective. [Considering the claims of some painters in the author's catalogue, perhaps Pietro della Francesca deserved more honourable mention. His frescoes at Arezzo, so highly extolled by Vasari, are now almost ruined; but at Borgo S. Sepolcro, his native place, several of his works still exist; the best is the fresco in the Monte di Pietà. See Passavant, Rafael von Urbino, i. 433. Some engraved specimens are given in Rosini's 'Storia della Pittura.'—ED.]

the body (the feet being nearest the eye) is said to be inimitable.<sup>1</sup> To protect it from the weather this picture is unfortunately shut up in glass and grating, so that no part of it can be thoroughly examined. An altar-piece in the collection of the Dukes of Melzi at Milan exhibits free and beautiful drawing, combined with many peculiarities. But the finest and most perfect works of this master are the frescoes on the vaulted roof of the St. Bruno Chapel in the Carthusian convent at Padua, representing the family of the Visconti on their knees, presenting a plan of that building to the Virgin. Bramantino's style here attains an almost Raphaelesque perfection.

On the other hand, there were a number of Milanese artists who partook neither of the Paduan school nor of that of Leonardo da Vinci; being men, in most instances, of moderate talents, but who with a peculiar softness of conception and treatment so developed the tendency of the older Milanese school, that, in spite of the late period at which they painted, we must include them in our present classification.

The most remarkable of them is Ambrogio Fossano, called Borgognone, who flourished in the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. His pictures display no particular power and no satisfactory understanding of the figure, but the heads, especially those of infant angels, which he was fond of introducing, are distinguished by great gentleness and meekness of expression; also sometimes by a mournful and austere look which contrasts strongly with the sweetness of the contemporary scholars of Leonardo da Vinci (the occasional similarity to the type of Francesco Francia appears to be only accidental). Some of his works are to be seen in Milan; among them may be mentioned two frescoes in the church of S. Ambrogio: Christ after the Resurrection, standing between two angels (on the wall of the choir near the side-aisle), and Christ Disputing with the Doctors (in the atrium of the sacristy). The frescoes of several chapels in the Carthusian convent in Pavia (formerly ascribed to Bramante)

<sup>1</sup> [This work was probably the origin of many a similar picture known by the name of "The Miraculous Entombment," from the extraordinary illusion produced by the foreshortening.—ED.]

are by him, as are also various altar-pieces. In the apsis of S. Simpliciano in Milan, a large fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin, by his hand, is still preserved. Other works of his are in other churches. There are two excellent pictures by him in the Berlin Museum; one in particular, the Madonna enthroned, with two angels at her side, deserves its high reputation. The tender innocence, the deep feeling of the young angels who worship the infant Christ, have perhaps never since been equalled.

A similar tendency and development is observable in Vincenzo Foppa the younger—in Vincenzo Civerchio the younger (who painted altar-pieces in S. Alessandro at Brescia, in the cathedral of Crema, and in the principal church of Palazzolo, between the years 1504 and 1539)—in Cesare Magni (flourished about 1530)—in his relation Pietro Francesco Sacchi of Pavia (a Crucifixion by whom, inscribed 1514, is in the Berlin Museum)—in Andrea da Milano (not to be mistaken for Andrea Solario, the scholar of Leonardo da Vinci)—in Girolamo Giovenone, the first master of Gaudenzio Ferrari—and in many others. These artists were all, more or less, behind the period both in general conception and in execution of detail. Their excellence, such as it was, does not rise above the aims and tendencies of the fourteenth century, except in those cases where other accidental influences had led to higher development.

A combination of various influences, upon a native foundation resembling that of the school of Milan, is traceable in another class of Lombard painters. One of the most distinguished is Macrino d'Alba (properly speaking, Giangiacomo Fava), who flourished about 1500, and lived principally in the neighbourhood of Turin. A Madonna picture with wings, containing the histories of Joachim and Anna, now in the Städel Institution at Frankfort, is dignified and full of character. Here we trace signs of Perugino's influence, as well as that of the school of Padua. Francesco Bianchi Ferrari, called *il Frari*, the earliest master of Correggio, flourished in Modena, 1480. His Madonna with Saints, now in the Louvre, combines with considerable original power some traces of Francesco Francia. Giovanni Massone, an excellent artist, lived at the same time,



and probably in his native town, Alessandria. A Birth of Christ by him in the Louvre is an attractive picture.

In the works also of contemporary artists of Parma—in Filippo Mazzuolo for example—we find an approach to the manner of the old Lombard school. Two good pictures by him are in the museum at Naples—a Dead Christ in the lap of a nun, with other nuns around, and a Madonna with two saints.

At that time, about 1500, we meet with the brothers Albertino and Martino Piazza, who flourished in Lodi, and are perhaps the best representatives of the highest form of development of the older Lombard school. In the representation of severe and yet heartfelt character, in knowledge of the nude, and in grandeur of drapery, they exhibit that approach to the perfection of art which is scarcely exceeded by Perugino or Francia. Albertino appears as the elder and more conventional; Martino as the younger and more original. Their principal conjointly executed works are an altar-piece in the Church dell' Incoronata at Lodi (in the Chapel of S. Antonio); another, consisting of many portions, in S. Agnese at Lodi, including a Madonna of almost Raphaellesque beauty and grace; a third in the Church dell' Incoronata at Castione (or Castiglione, not far from Crema), in which, especially in the lower series of pictures, scarcely anything is left to be desired in point of correct and beautiful drawing. Martino's sons, of whom Calisto alone attained any celebrity, adhered later to the Venetian school.

Finally, the school of Padua exercised an important influence on art also in Venice, and in the first instance on the Vivarini family, established on the island of Murano, as mentioned in a former chapter. Antonio Vivarini, or Antonio da Murano, flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century; his works are remarkable for a peculiar softness, the tints being singularly well blended. In the latter half of this century we meet with Bartolommeo Vivarini, no doubt a younger brother or relation; his works, in opposition to this earlier style, have great sharpness and severity of drawing, quite in the Paduan manner. They display considerable ability, and generally a marked dignity; sometimes, as in the heads of the Madonna

for example, we find a graceful action united with this hardness. The chief merit of this artist, who generally represents Madonnas surrounded by saints, is the characteristic expression of his sacred figures. His pictures are not rare in the churches and collections of Venice; specimens are to be seen, for example, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in S. Maria de' Frari, in the Academy, &c.; they are also frequent in foreign galleries, in those of Naples, Berlin, &c.

A Madonna, with four saints in separate portions, of the year 1464, one of his earliest works, is in the Academy at Venice. It is painted on a gold ground, and the details are hard and over-finished. A large altar-piece in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, consisting of nine pictures, betrays a very near relationship to Mantegna, whose Dead Christ with angels (in the Berlin Museum) is here repeated with but slight difference. A St. Augustine enthroned, in the same church, of the year 1473 (not of 1423, which is a false reading), and an altar-piece of S. Maria de' Frari in Venice, of the year 1482, may be considered as the worthiest efforts of Bartolommeo Vivarini.

Luigi Vivarini, a younger master of the same family, flourished towards the close of the fifteenth century; <sup>1</sup> his works are similar to those of Bartolommeo, with whom he is supposed to have worked conjointly, with something of the manner of Bellini, to whom we shall advert presently. A nobler character is evident in his productions, which partake less of the mere accidents of nature, the excessive individuality of his predecessors having yielded to a higher and truer idea of life. Pictures by him occur in various galleries: a large altar-piece, for instance; the Madonna enthroned under a rich architecture with several saints, in the Berlin Museum; several pictures on wood, among which is a St. John the Baptist, of the greatest dignity and expression, in the Academy at Venice;

<sup>1</sup> In the latest catalogue of the Venetian Academy the mistake of an elder and younger Luigi Vivarini is still continued; also in the pictures there assigned to the elder is added "he painted about 1414." The untruthfulness of such a statement may be proved by an examination of the pictures themselves, which are obviously by one and the same hand. The mistake may have originated in a very late picture by Luigi (Christ bearing his Cross) in the Sacristy of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which exhibits a false date in characters of the most flagrantly modern description. Even Lanzi was aware of this deception.

and a splendid altar-piece (finished by Basaiti) in S. Maria de' Frari at Venice, representing St. Ambrose on a throne, surrounded by saints.

Carlo Crivelli, a contemporary of Bartolommeo, displays a similar severity; his works are very rare in Venice itself, but the galleries of the Brera at Milan and of the Berlin Museum possess several pictures inscribed with his name. A Pope enthroned, in St. Mark's at Rome, resembles in sharpness of finish and individuality the works of Bartolommeo Vivarini. Upon the whole, however, Crivelli is harder and less attractive.

We must also mention Rugerius (Roger), who is supposed to have come from the Netherlands; and indeed we are reminded, by the general arrangement of the figure of St. Jerome, though not by the execution, of Hubert van Eyck's representation of God the Father, in the celebrated altar-picture of Ghent.

Finally, the Paduan style is strikingly illustrated in Fra Antonio da Negrofonte; a large and excellent altar-piece by whom is preserved in S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice. The Madonna, with a kindly, round physiognomy, in a mantle shining with gold, and with a nimbus painted in relief, is seated before a luxuriant rosebush, upon a stone throne of a showy Renaissance style of architecture, with genii and antique decorations in relief. Above the throne are rich pendants of fruit, and below, a flowery meadow with very natural birds. She is adoring the Infant who lies in her lap, and who, with the true Paduan feeling, is drawn in a hard and sculpturesque style. Four cherubs in gay robes are standing by. The glory above appears to be thickly over-painted. Another picture in the same church (three male heads) is more in the style of Bartolommeo Vivarini.

Having examined the works of the artists of Venice who belong to the Paduan style, we can now enter more accurately into the characteristic qualities of the Venetian school, which unfolded itself in the second half of the fifteenth century, together with the schools of Florence and Padua, thus contributing a third element toward the emancipation of Art in its external or imitative character. In the two

first this was effected by the study of form and the laws which govern its appearances—drawing, modelling, chiaroscuro, &c., while colour was generally regarded as a subordinate quality. Among the Venetians, on the contrary, the element of colouring was all-important; and the consequence of this predilection was the ultimate development of the school to a peculiar excellence. We must here recollect that the older masters, Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni the German ("Alamanus"), had already displayed an excellence in colouring, particularly in the flesh, unknown before their time; and that Gentile da Fabriano had resided long in Venice, and had left many scholars there, who no doubt adopted the gay and showy style of their master. We observe further (and to this point we shall return) that the Venetians were the first among the schools of Italy who practised oil-painting, the greater fluidity and juiciness of which, compared with distemper, were highly favourable to their peculiar aim. But it was the cheerful and festive spirit of the Venetians themselves, which, more than all, contributed to decide the tendency of the school.<sup>1</sup> In all that relates to drawing, arrangement, and embellishment, they leaned to the practice of the neighbouring school of Padua; but happily they avoided its exaggerated severity; and even as regards the qualities they adopted, they were perfectly independent whenever the original application or treatment was opposed to their own views. In general the predominant taste exhibits itself among the earlier Venetian artists more as a fondness for glittering magnificence and varied splendour; a perfectly harmonious union of colour was reserved for a later period. Historical compositions, properly so called, are rare in this school; where they do occur, the treatment differs from that of the Florentines and Paduans. In these a symmetrical arrangement of the whole, a measured

<sup>1</sup> [As the Venetian school is acknowledged to be the first in colour, it is often too hastily assumed that its character from first to last was gay and joyous. Even in colour this is only occasionally true of Paul Veronese. The general style of the Venetian altar-pieces is grave, and it is remarkable that in expression no school of Italy is more serious. The smiling expressions of Leonardo da Vinci, Correggio, and Raphael never occur in the Venetian Holy Families, and the pensiveness of mien and look in subjects of a lighter character is sometimes pathetic: the picture called the Three Ages, in the Stafford Gallery, is a remarkable example.—Ed.]

distribution of the groups, predominates, while the Venetians from the very first betray a certain leaning to what is called *genre*, inasmuch as the whole composition is more scattered. The accessories, particularly the landscape, are of greater importance. Pictures in the ancient manner, representing a Madonna enthroned surrounded by Saints, such as piety everywhere demanded, are more common. Up to the time of the Vivarini, later, therefore, than in other schools, the single figures of saints were painted on gold grounds, and divided by framework. This was now renounced, the whole was united in one picture, generally with architectural backgrounds, and the "Santa Conversazione" now, properly speaking, first began. The saints are no longer placed at equal distances and in tranquil attitudes—a contrast is always contrived. In one looks up to the Virgin, another reads in a book; if one kneels, another stands upright. The sky, which acts as a background, is generally kept light and clear, the more effectively to relieve the richly coloured figures. They also embellished their compositions with pleasing accessories: bright sportive boy-angels, sometimes singing and playing on instruments, sometimes bearing festoons of flowers and fruit, gave a graceful variety to the seriousness of their religious representations. There were other favourite accessories, such as splendid thrones and tribunes, under which the saints are assembled; sometimes even the architectural forms of the frames are carried into the picture; sometimes the architecture of the church or chapel for which the painting was destined is imitated in perspective.

It has been already remarked that the practice of oil-painting was a principal auxiliary in developing the characteristic qualities of the Venetians. About the middle of the fifteenth century Antonello da Messina repaired to the Netherlands to the school of Johann van Eyck, learned his secret in the preparation and use of oil-colours, and spread the knowledge of it afterwards among the Venetians.<sup>1</sup> In that school he also

<sup>1</sup> *Memorie storico-critiche di Antonello degli Antonj, pitt. Messinese comp. dal Cav. T. Puccini, Firenze, 1809.* Translated under the title '*Notice historique sur Antonello de Messine, trad. de l'Italien, par L. de Baste Gand, 1825.*' [Compare Eastlake's '*Materials for a History of Oil Painting,*

learned that careful treatment of the minor objects of life belonging to a composition, which we call accessories ; where, however, similar features occur in the works of his contemporaries, they may be traced rather to the example of the Paduan school, which at that time evinced an independent tendency of that kind ; at any rate no essential adoption of the Flemish style is observable among the Venetian painters, and even Antonello departed later more and more from it. The most important pictures by this master, inscribed with his name, are in the Berlin Museum. One of them, dated 1445, a Portrait of a Young Man, is quite in the manner of Johann van Eyck. Two others, the Head of St. Sebastian (1478), and a Madonna and Child, have much more of the Italian type, with that softness and warmth in the flesh which at a later period were carried by the Venetian school to the highest perfection. A male head of free and beautiful conception, in the best Flemish manner, is in the gallery of the Uffizj. A Christ bound to a pillar is in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice ; and a dead Christ, with three weeping angels, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. A Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John, also of the year 1445, is in the Antwerp Museum. This work is still more in the character of the Van Eyck school. In the Academy at Venice is a Weeping Nun in his later manner.<sup>1</sup>

The proper head of the Venetian school is Giovanni Bellini (1426-1516), the son of Giacomo Bellini,<sup>2</sup> the scholar of Squarcione and Gentile da Fabriano. Giovanni Bellini possessed neither that high poetical flight of imagination by which even some painters of a realistic tendency, like Signorelli, distinguished themselves, nor that glowing and versatile power with which Mantegna subdued the outer world to his service ;<sup>3</sup>

p. 192 ; Carton, ' Les Trois Frères Van Eyck,' Bruges, 1848 ; and Dr. Waagen in the ' Kunstblatt,' 1849, No. 15.—ED.]

<sup>1</sup> [An admirable portrait by Antonello, dated 1474, is in the collection of Count Portalis at Paris.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> A document mentioned by Gaye, Cartegg. 2, p. 80, reports him to have been related to Mantegna.

<sup>3</sup> We must remind the reader that the great historical series of pictures with which Luigi Vivarini, Giovanni Bellini, and others had enriched the Doge's palace, and which would probably have raised still higher our estimation of these painters, were destroyed by fire in 1597. See Gaye's Cartegg.,

still less the dreamy inspiration which charms us in Perugino. He was gifted, however, with a noble and profound mind, the expression of which captivates the spectator and gains his sympathy at once. That elevated expression of mildness with which Luigi Vivarini had already softened the sharpness and austerity of the Paduan school, was raised in the hands of Giovanni Bellini to a moral beauty, which, without totally spiritualising the life of this world, displays its noblest and most edifying side, and stops with unerring certainty on the narrow line of demarcation between the actual and the visionary. Thus his figures, though animated with the utmost truth of nature, are utterly removed from the paltry and the accidental. His type represents a race of men of easy and courteous dignity—a race not yet extinct in Venice. His Madonnas are amiable beings, imbued with a lofty grace;—his saints are powerful and noble forms;—his angels cheerful boys in the full bloom of youth. In his representations of the Saviour he displays a moral power and grandeur seldom equalled in the history of art—the basis on which Titian raised his “Cristo della Moneta.” It was in the works of Giovanni Bellini also that Venetian colouring attained, if not its highest truth of nature, at all events its greatest intensity and transparency. Many of his draperies are like crystal of the clearest and deepest colour.

The greater number of Bellini's pictures are to be found in the galleries and churches of Venice: all those which are dated being entirely the work of his old age, even after he had attained to fourscore years. Nor do they show any diminution of power.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, they may be said with truth to represent the Venetian style of the sixteenth century in the worthiest manner. One of his *chefs-d'œuvre*, of the year 1488, is a large altar-piece in the Sacristy of S. Maria de' Frari—a Madonna enthroned with two angels, and four saints in the sides, who contemplate the Infant with deep emotion. The two little angels are of the utmost beauty;

p. 70. A contract for the same work had also been entered into with Perugino.

<sup>1</sup> Albert Durer writes thus from Venice, 1506:—“He is very old, but is still the best in painting.”

the one is playing on the lute, and listens with head inclined to hear whether the instrument be in tune; the other is blowing a pipe. The whole is perfectly finished, and of a splendid effect of colour. To the same period, 1487, belongs a picture, now in the Academy—a haughty and beautiful Madonna, holding the Child, who stands before her on a parapet. A very similar picture is in the Berlin Museum. A large altar-piece, also, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo—the Madonna with ten saints, and three singing cherubs in front, painted in distemper—is included among his early pictures, though, with the exception of the somewhat hard heads, it is quite in the free and broad manner of the master. Another large picture, similar in subject, arrangement, and value, is in the Academy. A Madonna with four saints and an angel playing the violin, of the year 1505, is in the church of S. Zaccaria. The mild devotion of the two female saints, and the serious dignity of the male figures, are splendidly expressed. The architectural frame-work here, as in other pictures of the master, is imitated in the picture itself. To this late period belongs also a large picture in S. Salvatore—Christ at Emmaus—one of the master's finest works, and certainly one of the finest of his time. Besides the two disciples, he introduces, in the naïve manner of this school, a Venetian senator and an individual in Turkish costume—perhaps a Venetian dragoman—both looking meditatively towards Christ. One disciple, a man advanced in years, is standing with his pilgrim's robe girt about him, attentively considering the other disciple, a fine, light-bearded man of fifty, who, repressing his inward emotion, is grasping the table, and raising his left hand vehemently, as if just become aware of the miracle, of which the other is still unconscious. In the centre of the table sits Christ, holding the bread in his left hand, and giving the benediction with his right. His hair is curling and dark, and divinity is stamped upon his marvellous features. A similar picture, but of inferior worth, is in the Manfrini Gallery. An altar-piece in S. Giovanni Crisostomo, 1513, is perhaps Bellini's latest picture of this kind. Behind on a rock, in a steep landscape, is seated the figure of St. Jerome, reading; in front, and separated by a marble parapet from the landscape,



are the standing figures of St. Augustin and St. Christopher—the one inclined calmly forward, the other looking trueheartedly on the lovely child, who is holding fast by his short curly hair. The finest shades of moral contrast are here expressed, affording perpetual study and delight to the spectator. Other works of the master exist in the Church del Redentore,<sup>1</sup> in the Manfrini Gallery (among others a pleasing picture of St. Jerome, studying), and in the Academy. Here, for instance, there are five small, neatly-executed allegorical works, the meaning of which (probably dictated by the patron) is difficult to understand. The subject of one of them is Fortune, a fair and beautiful woman in a white half-open robe, seated in a skiff, surrounded with little naked genii. With her knee she supports a globe, against which a little genius is leaning. In front of the boat is another, playing on a double flute; two others are drawing the skiff merrily through the water. In these little pictures we see all the cheerful *naïveté* requisite in such subjects, combined with a masterly though still somewhat hard execution, which perhaps indicates Giovanni's early period. One of his latest works (the celebrated Bacchanalian, with landscape by Titian) was probably of the same style of subject. It was formerly in the possession of the late Chevalier Camuccini at Rome: we are not aware who is its present possessor.<sup>2</sup>

Nor are pictures by Bellini uncommon out of Venice; one of the largest and most important is a Coronation of the Virgin, in the church of S. Francesco at Pesaro.<sup>3</sup> The pilasters of

<sup>1</sup> [The Holy Families preserved in the Sacristy merit special study, as presenting the same subject treated by this great master at *three* periods of a life in which every step—and they were many—was a step nearer perfection.]

<sup>2</sup> [This interesting picture, containing perhaps the finest specimen of Titian's landscape, is still in the possession of the Camuccini family at Rome.—ED. It is conceived entirely in the Romantic style: the Gods, descending on earth to enjoy earth's pleasures, have put off half their divinity, and appear as a more elevated and serene band of mortal revellers—as types of festive humanity. Bellini seems here to have aimed at the ironical converse of Giorgione's idyllic conception of human life:—we should be reminded of Shakspeare's similar treatment of the Divine in 'Troilus and Cressida,' were not all mere *satire* here restrained by Venetian gravity, and that supernatural beauty in colour, expression, and landscape which renders this little-known work one of the most precious that have descended to us.—P.]

<sup>3</sup> This picture was for sale in the year 1855.

the frame and the predella are also adorned with charming little pictures. In the Museum at Naples there is an excellent picture of the Transfiguration, with a peculiar landscape, the subject, agreeably to the feeling of the fifteenth century, being brought nearer to our human perceptions. Accordingly, Christ, Moses, and Elias are not seen floating in a glory of light, but are standing on terra firma. The three disciples, however, are not, as in most versions of this subject, merely physically dazzled, but display all the awe and astonishment of mortal men at seeing a supernatural event. Christ, as a single figure, is treated the most grandly by Bellini in the well-known picture in the Dresden Gallery. This is an ideal of elevated humanity, simple and without nimbus or glory, such as the fifteenth century scarcely exceeded. A beautiful Baptism of Christ is in the church of S. Corona at Vicenza.<sup>1</sup> A complete series of Bellini's works, among which several Madonnas with the Child are very remarkable, is in the Berlin Museum. Some excellent pictures are in England. Two Doge's heads were in possession of Mr. Beckford, at Bath.<sup>2</sup>

Gentile, the elder brother of Giovanni Bellini, is less important as an artist (1421-1501). Two large pictures in the Venetian Academy are among his best works; the subjects are from Venetian history. One represents a Miracle, said to have occurred in one of the canals, by means of a relic of the Holy Cross: in the other, the same relic is borne in solemn procession in St. Mark's Place. In these works of Gentile the heads display more softness than those of Giovanni, but much less character. The same may be said of a large picture with numerous figures in the Brera at Milan; the subject is

<sup>1</sup> [The attendant Angels in this work (signed by the artist) are of special interest:—instinct with an indefinable purity and depth of reverential tenderness elsewhere hardly rivalled. But the picture, like that in S. Giovanni Crisostomo, with which it is nearly contemporary, is almost more interesting from the astonishing truth and beauty of its landscape portions. *These* form here a feature more important perhaps than in any work of that period:—the stratification and form of the rocks in the foreground—the palms and other trees relieved against the lucid distance—and the mountain ranges of tender blue beyond—are as much beyond praise for their beauty and their truth, as they have been beyond imitation from the solidity and transparent strength of their execution:—the finish minute as Nature's, and the colouring more gemlike than gems.—P.]

<sup>2</sup> [That of the Doge Loredano is now in the National Gallery.—ED.]

St. Mark preaching at Alexandria. This painter, as is well known, repaired to Constantinople by desire of the Sultan. Several of his still-existing pictures bear evidence of that journey, especially the last-named, in which Oriental costumes are almost exclusively introduced.<sup>1</sup>

Giovanni Bellini formed a great number of scholars, some of whom, as for instance Giorgione and Titian, must be reserved for a subsequent chapter. Here we shall only name the most prominent of those who, with more or less talent, adhered to the style of their master. They may be divided into two groups: one distinguished by a soft and graceful manner, the other severer and more sculpturesque. To the first class belong the following artists:—

Pier Francesco Bissolo.—A beautiful picture in the Venetian Academy, representing Christ giving the crown of thorns to St. Catherine,<sup>2</sup> surrounded by Saints; an Annunciation in the Manfrini Gallery; the Resurrection of Christ (an excellent picture), in the Berlin Museum, are examples of the gentleness and softness which distinguish the works of this master. The motives are not generally powerful, but the heads are beautiful and full of feeling.

Pietro degli Ingannati.—A Holy Family in a landscape, formerly in possession of Mr. Beckford; also a Madonna, with Saints, in the Berlin Museum. No other scholar of Bellini's has perhaps retained the religious spirit of the master with such sweetness and repose. He is deficient, however, in Bellini's depth, which is replaced by an evanescent grace.

Pier Maria Pennacchi.—A Madonna at the moment of the Annunciation, in S. Francesco della Vigna at Venice, and another Madonna in the sacristy of S. Maria della Salute, are remarkable for a frank and noble grace.

Andrea Cordelle Agi.—To this artist is ascribed a Marriage of St. Catherine, in the Berlin Museum; the expressions

<sup>1</sup> The date of this journey is ascertained to have been 1497,—in the reign, therefore, of Bajazet II. Vasari, however, alludes perpetually to Sultan Mahomet II., who reigned only till 1481. A medal by Gentile is also in existence, representing the effigy of Mahomet, with his name inscribed, which leads to the conclusion of his having undertaken a previous journey.

<sup>2</sup> [More properly exchanging the crown of thorns for a crown of gold. See Zanetti, *Della Pittura Veneziana*, lib. 1.—Ed.]

are sincere and interesting. A small Madonna, once in the Beckford collection, is especially remarkable for its fused execution.

Martino da Udine.—An Annunciation, in the Venetian Academy; St. Ursula surrounded by the attendant Virgins, in the Brera at Milan—two pictures of a tranquil, noble beauty.

Girolamo di Santa Croce.—Known particularly by his cabinet pictures, with pleasing small figures. His boy-angels hovering in the air, or standing on clouds, with light fluttering drapery, are very beautiful. Several pictures of this kind are in the Berlin Museum, among them especially a Birth of Christ, with a number of such cherubs, some of them singing, others holding the instruments of the Passion. Of similar beauty is an Adoration of the Kings, in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice. The same may be said of two classically felt pictures of antique subjects. A Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, in the Studj Gallery at Naples, contains Turkish instead of Roman tormentors. Three Turkish princesses are standing by—an obvious allusion to some occurrence of the time. Girolamo also painted a whole chapel in S. Francesco at Padua, with the history of the Virgin. At a later period this painter followed the modern manner (that of Titian), without, however, particularly distinguishing himself in it. Among his best pictures of this kind is a Madonna with Saints, in the Venetian Academy. A Last Supper, in S. Francesco della Vigna, of mediocre performance, and much mannered in the draperies, is by an inferior painter of the same name—Francesco da Santa Croce<sup>1</sup>—whose Adoration of the Kings, however, in the Berlin Museum, is of agreeable expression and soft execution.

The following painters belong to the second group of Bellini's scholars:—

Vincenzio Catena.—In this artist the influence of Bartolommeo Vivarini's style is perceptible. Several of his pictures are in the Venetian Academy; among them a somewhat severe

<sup>1</sup> [There are some specimens of this painter's works in S. Francesco della Vigna, but of two pictures of the Last Supper, one, an early work, is in S. Geminiano, the other, his latest, dated 1548, is in S. Martino. The date of the last-mentioned renders it a curiosity, for it appears that the style of the early Venetian school was hardly extinct thirty-seven years after the death of Giorgione.—ED.]

Madonna, with St. Simon and St. John the Baptist, is especially remarkable. Later works by him—for instance, an Adoration of the Kings, in the Manfrini Gallery, and an excellent Madonna with Saints, in the Berlin Museum—are freer and more broadly treated.

Andrea Previtali.—His principal pictures are at Bergamo, his native city. An altar-picture at S. Spirito, representing St. John the Baptist, with other saints, is one of the most remarkable, but a placid, noble character is common to all these specimens. A Holy Family, in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice, is simple and almost severe in its grace. An excellent picture of three female Saints is in the Museum of Berlin.

Giambattista Cima da Conegliano.—One of the most prominent of Giovanni Bellini's followers. His male figures are characterised by a peculiar seriousness and dignity, by a grand tranquillity in gesture and movement, and by the greatest care and decision in execution. The inanimate expression of his otherwise not unlovely Madonnas is very remarkable. His most distinguished picture, the colours of which glisten like jewels, is in the church del Carmine in Venice. It represents the Virgin kneeling in an attitude of the most graceful humility before the crib in which the child is lying. On the right is Tobit, conducted by a beautiful angel; on the left, Joseph and two devout shepherds; further in the picture are St. Helen and St. Catherine in conversation. The background consists of a steep rock overhung with trees, with a rich evening landscape, with towns in the distance. In this way, as in other Venetian pictures, the combination of a sacred event with other figures takes a new and charming form. Among the pictures by Cima in the Berlin Museum is an important altar-piece, a Madonna enthroned, and four Saints. Another in the same gallery, St. Anianus of Alexandria healing a Shoemaker's wounded hand, is distinguished by the life-like character of the heads. The Academy of Venice contains two excellent pictures by this artist. A Madonna with Saints in the Louvre displays much character and the finest expression. Several pictures are also in the Brera at Milan; but in some of them the expression of power and severity degenerates into heaviness.

Numerous followers of Giovanni Bellini might be added, but we pass on to Marco Marcone of Como.—A picture by this artist, dated 1507, in the Berlin Museum, represents the Supper at Emmaus, which shows a close affinity to the general character of the school, but is distinguished by a peculiarly naïve and genre-like conception of life. The same subject has been treated in a similar way by Marco Marziale in the Academy at Venice, 1506.

Besides Giovanni Bellini and his school, some painters must be mentioned who, in following the general progress of Venetian Art, at the same time retained an independent individuality. Among them is Marco Basaiti, a master in whom a peculiarly simple dignity and severity sometimes borders on a dry realism of style, while it is accompanied by a certain stiffness in the draperies, and the same constantly recurring type of heads. He appears to have been in close alliance with Bartolommeo Vivarini, for a large altar-picture in S. Maria de' Frari at Venice was begun by Vivarini and finished by Basaiti: it represents St. Ambrose seated, surrounded by several Saints, and in the upper portion the Coronation of the Virgin—a severe but beautiful and dignified work. A picture of Christ on the Mount of Olives (dated 1510), in the Venetian Academy, is similar in style. Of less importance, though excellent in parts, is another picture in the same collection, also dated 1510. The subject is the Calling of the Sons of Zebedee to the Ministry of the Apostles—a composition of dramatic action, not perhaps within the scope of the artist's powers. Some smaller pictures in the Academy are very excellent. In the Berlin Museum there is also a beautiful altar-piece by this painter.<sup>1</sup>

Vittore Carpaccio, a more important artist, is, properly speaking, the historical painter of the elder Venetian school, but his conceptions incline to the *genre* or romantic style, to which we have already referred. In these pictures he successfully introduces the daily life of the Venetians of his time in the greatest variety and richest development, and loves to fill up the background with landscape, architecture, and acces-

<sup>1</sup> [One of Basaiti's best works is the Assumption of the Virgin, in S. Pietro Martire at Murano.—ED.]

series. In this respect he may be compared to the Florentine masters of the fifteenth century, only that the surrounding landscape and architecture display a far higher finish, and assume a much greater importance. He avails himself freely of these accessories in his compositions, and binds them all together with a deep and powerful colouring. His object is not only to represent single events, but a complete scene. Many of his works are in the Academy of Venice; eight large pictures, full of figures, representing the history of St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins, are particularly worthy of attention: they were formerly in the school of St. Ursula.<sup>1</sup> These are masterly works, rich in motives and character. The monotonous incident which forms the groundwork of many of them is throughout varied and elevated by a free style of grouping, and by happy moral allusions. The colours shine with the purest light. That series of pictures, also, which represents the miracles of the Holy Cross are excellent specimens of his style. The cure of a man possessed by a devil, by the patriarch of Grado, is especially fine: the scene occurs in the loggia of a palace above, while numerous figures upon a canal below, and on its banks, are gazing upwards. This picture, like those of the whole series, gives the clearest idea of the buildings, people, and costume of ancient Venice. Other specimens in the same collection, a Presentation in the Temple (1510), and an Apotheosis of St. Ursula, are incomparably broader in execution, and partake of the more developed Venetian style; at the same time a greater stiffness of the figures accompanies the large scale on which they are represented. The altar-piece of S. Vitale in Venice (1514) is one of this painter's *chefs-d'œuvre*. Here a "Santa Conversazione" of an early character is combined with the most finished execution. The architecture of the background still constitutes a kind of symmetrical framework to the figures, they being represented in eager conversation with St. Vitalis, who is seated on a horse in the centre. Above, in the gallery, four other saints are engaged in discourse. The Brera gallery at Milan possesses, also, several pictures by Carpaccio, among them the Legends of St. Stephen: others of the same series

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in a series, by Gio. de Pian e Franc. Calinberti.

are in the Louvre. In the Berlin gallery there is an excellent picture by him, representing the Consecration of St. Stephen and other Deacons. Frescoes of the history of Christ, St. George, and St. Jerome (1502-1511) are in S. Giorgio de' Schiavoni in Venice.

The pictures of Giovanni Mansueti and Lazzaro Sebastiani, both scholars of Carpaccio, are in a similar style of composition, but in their less lively treatment may be ranked with the works of Gentile Bellini. In the Academy at Venice are some of their pictures, which, like those of Gentile, relate to the miracle of the Holy Cross.

Benedetto Diana is less distinguished.

Some artists remain to be mentioned who flourished toward the end of the fifteenth century, and who hold a middle place between the manner of Giovanni Bellini and that of Andrea Mantegna.

Bartolommeo Montagna of Vicenza may be mentioned first. His works in the Academy at Venice and in the Berlin Museum are characterised by a certain seriousness in conception, but at the same time by an unpleasing dryness of manner. In many respects he approaches the school of Ferrara.

Several Veronese painters belong to the same class: Libérale, an artist, like the last, of no great importance.—An Adoration of the Kings, in the Duomo at Verona, an altar-piece at S. Fermo (St. Anthony of Padua and other saints), and some frescoes in S. Anastasia, are among his best works. A St. Sebastian, not without a certain grandeur, is in the Brera at Milan; another is in the Berlin Museum. Libérale was also a miniature-painter: a missal is preserved in the Libreria of the Duomo at Siena illuminated by him with figures, which, however, are not very excellent.

Francesco Morone.—An excellent altar-picture by him is in S. Anastasia at Verona, a Madonna between St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, with the donors beneath—a beautiful fresco. A Madonna and four Saints, in a house at Verona (No. 5522, beyond the Ponte delle Navi), may also be mentioned. There are several interesting pictures with Morone's name inscribed on them in the Museum at Berlin, a Madonna and Child; and two larger pictures, the Madonna enthroned, with



Saints. They are simple and well painted, and have a character of mild seriousness.

Girolamo dai Libri (son of a book-painter, or himself a painter of books).—Several works of this excellent but elsewhere little known artist are to be met with in Verona. His earlier style inclines decidedly to the manner of Andrea Mantegna. An altar-picture in S. Anastasia, a Madonna enthroned, with Saints and donors, contains, for example, strong reminiscences of Mantegna's altar-picture in S. Zeno. A Nativity, with St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist, likewise in the Palazzo del Consiglio, is severe in general treatment, but of a pleasing mild character, and already exhibits considerable softness in the painting. Some later pictures of Girolamo possess these qualities in a much greater degree, and he approaches nearer to the Bellini school. The last-named gallery possesses several of these later pictures: one, of the year 1530, representing a Madonna enthroned, surrounded by various Saints, with Tobias and the Angel, is particularly deserving of attention. Miniatures by Girolamo and Francesco dai Libri are, it appears, no longer in existence. A breviary, however, in the collection of the late Duke of Sussex, adorned with miniatures in the manner of Mantegna, gives perhaps an idea of their style.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### SCHOOLS OF UMBRIA, AND MASTERS OF A SIMILAR STYLE.

It was quite natural that the efforts at direct imitation which characterized so many important schools, and which aimed at mere truth and beauty of external form, rather than at any spiritual depth of meaning, should call forth a decided manifestation of an opposite kind. This contrariety already existed in Florentine Art in the first half of the fifteenth century, when Fra Giovanni da Fiesole—whom I have placed among the artists of the preceding period, but who flourished at this time—appeared as a marked exception to the general tendency

of the Florentine artists.<sup>1</sup> It took place to a still greater extent in the latter part of this century in the schools of Umbria.<sup>2</sup>

The external habits and circumstances of life in this retired valley of the upper Tiber tended to give a spiritual direction to Art. This region had distinguished itself in the middle ages above all Italy, as the peculiar seat of religious enthusiasm. Here were found the most miraculous pictures; here were born and nurtured enthusiasts like St. Francis; and Assisi, with its Basilica, founded by this saint, naturally calculated as it was to foster such feelings, was the centre round which the other townships ranged themselves as tributaries. Art followed the current of life here, as it did in the commercial cities of Florence and Venice; as it did in Padua, where the study of classic lore predominated. Purity of soul, fervent unearthly longings, and an abandonment of the whole being to a pleasing-sad, enthusiastic tenderness—these are the prevailing characteristics of the school to which we now turn our attention. The elevation and character of this school is therefore not so much owing to any decided and formal principle as to a particular mode of thought; and where this is first seen, there, whatever may have been the education of the individual artist, we recognise the commencement of the school of Umbria. Thus it was that this tendency of thought, extending by degrees to external forms, developed in them that idealising habit which naturally accompanies an exclusive attention to the expression of spiritual and devotional sentiment. To this may be attributed the comparatively early decline of the school, which, after earning for itself the eternal glory of having contributed to form Raphael's first, and in many respects permanent characteristics, sunk rapidly into the lowest feebleness and mannerism.

The immediate elements of this style appear to have been blended from various sources. Besides the universal influence

<sup>1</sup> See, however, note to p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> This appellation, first adopted by V. Rumohr, must not be too strictly circumscribed to the department of ancient Umbria. The saying is to this day, "*Quel che muove la Romana all' ira, muove la Peruginese al pianto.*"

of Giotto, from which no portion of central Italy was excluded—besides the above-mentioned painters of the March of Ancona and of the district of Urbino<sup>1</sup>—we may remark two styles co-operating in this locality: the one, that of Justus of Ghent, who completed an altar-piece in S. Agata at Urbino, 1474; the other, that of Paolo Uccello, Benozzo Gozzoli, and Piero della Francesca. Luca Signorelli also painted in Urbino after the year 1484. In considering, however, the earliest specimens of the Umbrian mode of thought, the influence of the school of Siena is undeniable—derived in some measure from the labours of Taddeo di Bartolo in Perugia (see page 160). We have remarked that at Assisi different works, or remains of works, are still preserved, which show a decided affinity to the style and manner of this painter. The frescoes in the little church of S. Caterina (or S. Antonio di Via Superba) are of the number. The exterior of this building was embellished by Martinellus in 1422, the interior by Matteo di Gualdo and Pietro Antonio di Fuligno; the remains of the paintings of Martinellus, though unimportant as works of art, are decidedly Sienese in character; those of Pietro Antonio, on the side walls of the church, are more interesting, and have a beautiful mildness of expression.<sup>2</sup> A fresco next the door shows also a later hand of the time of Pinturicchio. A large window in the choir of S. Domenico at Perugia, containing a number of figures of saints in separate compartments, gives us no trace of any particular school. It is supposed to have been executed, 1411, by Fra Bartolommeo da Perugia.

The realistic tendency of the fifteenth century was, however, too powerful not to leave its impress even on the Umbrian school. Besides Piero della Francesca, the follower of Masaccio, we may mention Benedetto Bonfigli, or di Buonfiglio,

<sup>1</sup> See Passavant's 'Rafael,' etc., vol. i. p. 435—a work which may be accepted as the chief authority for the history of the Umbrian school. See also the Essays by Gaye, in the *Kunstbl.*, 1837, No. 83, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii. 312, etc., where, however, the little church is not called by the name it generally bears in Assisi. In other buildings in the same place we find paintings in the style of the Sienese, particularly of Taddeo di Bartolo; in the *Confraternità* of St. Francis, for example, where, in a niche on the outside, St. Francis's Miracle of the Roses, and other paintings, are represented in a uniform green colour.

as one of the first painters of Perugia. His pictures combine, with great individual hardness, certain traces of the style of Gentile da Fabriano. His best work, an Adoration of the Kings, in S. Domenico, is ostensibly of the year 1460. A Madonna with Saints, also in the Academy, and two paintings on wood—angels with the instruments of the Passion—belong to his more pleasing productions. On the other hand, a large picture of the Glory of Christ, and the Acts of S. Bernardino, in the chapel of the brotherhood of that name (after 1461, painted probably as a flag for processions), are stiff, hard, and portrait-like. The same may be said of a Madonna with a Dead Christ, and two Saints, of the year 1469, in S. Pietro. Bonfigli's chief work, the frescoes in the Palazzo del Consiglio (in the Antechamber of the Delegates), commenced 1454, representing the bishops S. Ludovico and S. Ercolaneo, in no way distinguish him, as respects the figure, from the mediocre followers of Masaccio, though they are characterized by a correctness of perspective and a delicate execution of the architectural backgrounds.

Of greater merit is a somewhat younger painter, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, who, in picturesque arrangement and application of his subject, and in certain refinements in the conception of his forms—pointing, perhaps, to an acquaintance with the Paduan school—is decidedly in advance of Bonfigli. His works are very rare. In the sacristy of S. Francesco de' Conventuali, at Perugia, are two pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, inscribed with the name of the artist and the year 1487; also the upper portion of a large semicircular picture, representing a Madonna and Child, and two adoring Angels. A graceful Madonna, with Angels, is in the Palazzo del Consiglio (over the door of the Sala del Cadasto Nuovo); another is in a side chapel of S. Agostino. Also a Madonna on a gold ground, of an almost Paduan character in expression and hardness, is in the Berlin Museum.

Contemporary with the two last-named painters lived Niccolo di Fuligno, commonly called Niccolo Alunno. To him belongs the merit of having given the Umbrian school that prevailing tendency which subsequently characterized all its works. Though unendowed with any originality of invention, he pos-

essed the art of giving his figures a generally attractive expression. In his female and his angelic heads especially we remark a great refinement and purity, and in his male figures an earnestness of expression, accompanied by greater fulness and sturdiness than the succeeding Umbrian painters approved. In his delineations of St. Francis, which are frequent, we remark a peculiar enthusiasm; but his representations of suffering are violent and exaggerated. His earliest known work, a Madonna with Angels and Saints, 1458, is preserved upon the high altar of the Franciscan church at Diruta, between Perugia and Todi. His Annunciation, of the year 1466, in S. Maria Nuova at Perugia, is a wonderfully beautiful picture, severe and solemn, almost in the style of the early Sienese masters, though full of grace and loveliness. Above is the First Person of the Trinity, among cherubim; below are saints in prayer, with the donor and other figures. The head of one of the angels is of surpassing beauty. Other altar-pieces by him are in the church of the Castle of S. Severino (1468), and in S. Francesco at Gualdo (1471). Another, similar to this last-named, in the sacristy of the principal church at Nocera (not far from Fuligno), belongs to the finest works of this master. The chief compartments of an altar-piece of the church of the Augustins, S. Niccolo, at Fuligno (1492), are still preserved there: they include a Nativity, with the Resurrection above, and Saints on each side. The predella pictures, containing scenes from the Passion, of highly animated and dramatic character, amounting almost to caricature, are now in the Louvre. Frescoes by Alunno are also preserved in S. Maria fuori la Porta at Fuligno; they are much injured, however, and are of no high merit. Fragments also still exist of the pictures originally belonging to the high altar in the cathedral at Assisi: they represented a Pietà, with two Angels, who, according to Vasari, wept so naturally that a better artist could hardly have been more successful. His last known work, the altar-piece of S. Angelo, in la Bastia, not far from Perugia, 1499, is of inferior value. Many other of his works are found dispersed in the March of Ancona. Almost all those we have mentioned, according to the old, though at that time almost obsolete, usage,

consisted of several pieces. A pleasing Madonna, a whole-length figure on a gold ground, is in the Berlin Museum.

Those qualities in art which Alunno left undeveloped were now carried to the utmost perfection by a younger painter, Pietro Vanucci della Pieve ("de castro plebis," so called from his birthplace, Castello della Pieve), or, most commonly, Pietro Perugino, from the place in which he afterwards established himself (1446-1524).<sup>1</sup> The accounts of his education in Art are very obscure. It is uncertain which of the above-mentioned artists was his teacher, though it is probable that Alunno exercised an influence upon him. When about twenty-five years of age he went to Florence, where he appears to have been intimate with Andrea Verocchio (and probably also with Lorenzo di Credi, his scholar). He remained a long time there and in other parts of Italy, particularly in Rome, and towards the end of the fifteenth century established himself finally in Perugia, where he opened a large studio and school.

This frequent change of residence may account for the changes of style observable in his works. Many small pictures of his earlier time exist, particularly in Florence, painted before he had experienced the influence of the Florentine school. They display some characteristic peculiarities, but belong decidedly to the older style. A picture of this kind is in the Museum of Berlin, a Madonna with two adoring angels. During his stay in Florence, between 1475 and 1489, he appears at one time to have rather inclined to the then prevalent taste for direct imitation, to which several works executed about 1470, 1480, bear witness. There is a proof of this in an Adoration of the Kings in S. Maria Nuova at Perugia, with the portrait of the artist, who appears about thirty years of age; the kings and their followers are represented standing together, in the beautiful Florentine manner, quiet and characteristic. A picture of the Crucifixion, with saints, in the church of La Calza at Florence, reminds us decidedly of Luca Signorelli. But among Perugino's works of this period, we must particularly notice the frescoes which he executed in the Sistine chapel at Rome, about the year

<sup>1</sup> Orsini, Vita, elogio e memorie dell' egregio pittore Pietro Perugino e degli scolari di esso, Perugia, 1804.



1480; he was the only artist employed not a Florentine. Some of these works were afterwards destroyed to make room for Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment;" but those still remaining—the Baptism of Christ, and the Delivering the Keys to Peter—are decidedly in the Florentine manner; this is apparent in the composition, in the arrangement of the numerous groups of spectators, and in the drapery. We pass over other works of this period.

After Perugino had thus passed through the schools, he returned to his own first manner. If his early works indicate the prevailing tone of his mind and feelings, and if the effect of study appear to predominate in those which follow, the period in which he returned to his natural taste, embodying it with that force and clearness which his previous study had taught, is necessarily the greatest and most interesting epoch of the artist's life. It was at this time he acquired that grace and softness, that tender enthusiastic earnestness, which give so great a charm to his pictures; and if they sometimes leave much to be wished for in force and variety of character, the heads, especially the youthful and ardently expressive ones, are of surpassing beauty. In the colouring, again, both of the flesh and drapery, in the warm, bright skies, and in the well-managed gradations of his landscapes, he had great and varied merit. Altogether these works are proofs, not only of the highest point of attainment in this school, but also evidences of its intrinsic defects. Perugino, it would seem, intentionally avoided the higher department of dramatic, historical painting; and all the other painters of his style remain in this respect considerably behind the Florentines. In accounting for this we must remember the comparative ignorance of anatomical action which prevailed in this school, and its restriction to a few and ever-repeated positions. The hitherto unexampled intensity of Perugino's otherwise monotonous expression, though it made amends for other failing qualities, yet became, in course of time, a source of failing in itself, as on many occasions he carried it so far as to degenerate into mannerism. Where a number of his pictures are seen together, the upcast eye and the expression of semi-woful ecstacy soon pall upon the spectator. There is something







characteristic also of Perugino in those rich and sparkling decorations of his robes and drapery, which, in a more positive mode of viewing real life, would have taken a more subordinate position. The figures of angels so numerous in his pictures, and which in the Florentine and Paduan school of the fifteenth century appear as powerful youths, generally half naked, are here represented, according to the old taste, draped, of no sex, and frequently of supernatural purity and beauty.

A picture of his best time, with the date 1491, is in the Palazzo Albani at Rome. It represents the Infant Christ adored by the Virgin, some angels and saints: it is remarkable for grace of attitude, delicacy of feature, and purity of expression. Other admirable works of this period are, for example, an Ascension of great beauty, now in the Museum at Lyons, and formerly upon the high altar in S. Pietro Maggiore in Perugia.<sup>1</sup> Five half-length figures belonging to this picture are in the sacristy of this church; the heads are fine, but already exaggerated in sentiment. Also three half-length figures, belonging to the same series, in the Vatican; and his celebrated Madonna with four saints, and the Resurrection of Christ, the execution of which is probably attributable to the youthful Raphael. Also a fresco in the chapter-house of S. Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence, representing the Crucifixion, with saints standing around. A Deposition, dated 1495, in the Pitti palace, formerly in S. Chiara, a picture with many figures, grand and simple in composition. The sketches for it, on three separate leaves, are in the gallery of the Uffizj. Perugino's attainments in expression and technical execution are nowhere seen in greater perfection than here; it is the most marvellous representation of sacred sorrow. The Christ, however, is somewhat weak in conception. Several pictures also are in the Academy; one of them, Christ on the Mount of Olives, merits attention; others of a later period are of less interest. Another excellent work is an altar-piece of the year 1497 in the church of S. Maria Nuova at Fano; the centre picture contains the Madonna with saints, the upper

<sup>1</sup> [This noble work is now much injured by that process which, as practised in France and Italy, it is equally ironical and superfluous to qualify with the epithet "injudicious."]

lunette an Entombment, and the predella the Life of the Virgin. Perugino's principal works at Perugia are the frescoes in the Collegio del Cambio, dated 1500. He has represented on the walls of the principal hall, besides some Biblical scenes, a series of sibyls, prophets, and personages from the Old Testament, with various statesmen and heroes of antiquity, and above them the allegorical figures of different virtues. The vaulted roof of the hall is decorated with charming arabesques; in the centre is Apollo, and around him are the presiding deities of the seven planets. The artist's portrait is introduced on one of the bands which separate the pictures. This is a very copious work, and some parts are executed with great dignity and beauty, although the assistance of his scholars may be frequently detected. The manner in which Perugino has placed his figures in this fresco, in rows one beside the other, is characteristic of him: a Florentine, by ingenious allusions of every kind, would have mingled them in groups, while a Venetian would, at all events, have represented the *Santa Conversazione*. A fresco in an inner chapel in the convent of S. Francesco del Monte, at Perugia, not less excellent, is considerably injured: it represents (in a semicircle) the Birth of Christ; the infant lies on the ground in the centre, behind him kneel two shepherds, &c., at his side are the Virgin and Joseph. The child is in this instance remarkable for its sweetness and tenderness of expression, and the Madonna is very dignified and beautiful. The arrangement of this picture, with some modifications, has been frequently repeated, both by the master himself and his scholars, and is characteristic of the whole school. Among the best of Perugino's pictures must be reckoned a very beautiful Madonna enthroned on the clouds, with four saints underneath, in the gallery of Bologna.

Soon after Perugino had established himself in Perugia, he gave himself up, like many painters of the time, to a mere mechanical dexterity, and worked principally for gain. He erected a large studio, in which several scholars were employed to execute commissions from his designs. In his later works, therefore, of which there are many in the churches of Perugia and in foreign galleries, the greatest uniformity of



MADONNA AND CHILD: portion of a picture by Ferrigno in the  
Gallery of Bologna.

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design prevails, with considerable inequality of execution, according as more or less talented scholars were employed. One of his best later works is a large fresco in S. Maria de' Bianchi (la Chieserella) in Città della Pieve, representing an Adoration of the Kings (1504). The unusual number of figures in this composition, as well as the execution, have caused this picture to be assigned to a scholar, and that scholar, for no other reason, to be designated as Raphael.<sup>1</sup> The last works executed by Perugino's own hand are strikingly weak: the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, of the year 1518, in St. Francis de' Conventuali at Perugia, may be mentioned as an example. Altogether, with exception of the Cambio frescoes, this city possesses rather the inferior than the better specimens of the master. As one of the earliest and finest, the date of which, however, we are not able to decide, we may mention eight pictures on wood, with half-length figures of saints, in the sacristy of S. Agostino at Perugia; the heads are of the purest and most beautiful expression.

The greatest of Perugino's scholars is Raphael Sanzio, of whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter.

Among other artists of note formed in Perugino's school, two have been always mentioned on Vasari's authority, namely, Pinturicchio and Ingegno; they may, however, be considered rather as assistants, and probably, like Perugino himself, were formed in the schools of the masters before named. The first of these is Bernardino di Betto, of Perugia, commonly called Pinturicchio (1454-1513), who was, properly speaking, the historical painter of the Umbrian school, and, in some respects, a more gifted artist than Perugino, whose earlier and more realistic Florentine type he greatly resembles. According to his conventional treatment of the department of expression, it would appear that he only superficially adopted the feeling of his colleague, without being really imbued with it. His chief peculiarity is seen in his varied conception of character, and this only in his earlier works, for his facile and lucrative power of production soon betrayed him into a superficial manner, and at last brought him to a merely mechanical

<sup>1</sup> See *Kunstbl.*, 1837, No. 64.

practice of his art, in which, however, his original gifts are clearly discernible.

Of the earlier works of Pinturicchio little is known. We find him first as the assistant of Perugino in the works of the Sistine chapel (before 1484), and next decorating, by order of Popes Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., several apartments in the Vatican, and in the castle of St. Angelo, of which works only the first (the so-called Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican) are preserved. By order also of Pope Innocent he painted a series of views of towns in "the Flemish manner." His best works, the frescoes in S. Maria Araceli (first chapel to the right), probably belong to this period: they represent various scenes from the life of St. Bernard of Siena, and are slight and hard in execution, but full of expression and individual life. The four Evangelists are painted in this style on the vaulted roof, each with those conventional allusions (for example, St. John looking at his pen to see whether it be sharp enough) which recur so frequently in Pinturicchio. The very important frescoes of the choir apsis of S. Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome (now much over-painted) are of his better time. They represent the Finding of the Cross, with a colossal Christ in a nimbus among angels above—a figure full of mild grandeur. Of less value are the frescoes in S. Maria del Popolo and S. Onofrio, in which the assistance of some inferior hand may be concluded. The same may be said of the frescoes in a chapel of S. Cecilia (on the right), if indeed these were really executed under Pinturicchio's superintendence at all. On the other hand we may mention a Madonna and Child in a chapel of the Palazzo de' Conservatori in the Capitol: she is seated enthroned, fronting the spectator; her large mantle forms a grand cast of drapery; the child, on her lap, sleeps in the loveliest attitude; she folds her hands and looks down, quiet, serious, and beautiful; in the clouds are two adoring angels. Upon his return also to Perugia, Pinturicchio produced some excellent things. One of his finest paintings (1495) is in the Academy at Perugia (it was formerly in the church of S. Anna). This work, consisting of several pictures joined together, displays, perhaps more than any other

<sup>1</sup> Recently ascribed to Ingegno. See Passavant's 'Rafael,' vol. i. p. 501.

of the Umbrian school, the peculiar deep and pure feeling of Niccolo Alunno, united with a better knowledge of form and a more beautiful manner; in the heads especially, the character and expression are conceived and rendered with the deepest feeling. Other excellent pictures on wood by his hand are, for example, the Assumption of the Virgin, in the gallery of the Studj at Naples; and the Madonna and Child, and the Donor—half-length figures in a rich landscape—in the sacristy of S. Agostino at S. Severino; also a large Adoration of the Kings, and a graceful Madonna and Child, in the Berlin Museum. Pinturicchio adorned the walls of the Libreria in the Duomo of Siena with a series of historical representations from the life of Pius II.<sup>1</sup> (*Æneas Sylvius*), in which, however, he appears more as a clever executor, as it were by contract, than as an independent creative artist. In the composition of these subjects he was assisted by the young Raphael, some of whose drawings, still in existence, are much more beautiful, more full of mind, than the large pictures executed from them. In these, however, there is much grace in single figures, and among their general merits it may be observed that the pictorial decoration, especially as regards the dimensions of the figures, is very happily adapted to the architecture of the room.<sup>2</sup>

The paintings of a chapel in the Duomo at Spello, of the year 1501, are also among the better specimens of Pinturicchio, although even in these the mechanical manner into which, like Perugino, he afterwards degenerated, and in which he totally lost himself, is already perceptible. The altar-picture of S. Andrea at Spello, of the date 1508, is an example of this degeneracy; also a standing figure of the Madonna del Soccorso (1509) in the same church at S. Severino which contains his master-piece.

Andrea Luigi, surnamed *L'Ingegno*, appears, like Pinturicchio, to have been a scholar of Niccolo Alunno; he was an established painter and master so early as 1484. Very little

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in the *Raccolta delle più celebri pitture esistenti nella città di Siena*, Firenze, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> [The "miscellaneous" collection of the Siense Academy contains a remarkable specimen of Pinturicchio (No. 65): a circular Holy Family, of most charming and original conception.]



is known respecting this artist. More powerful shadows, greater fulness and solidity of form, have been remarked as peculiarities which distinguish him from the other Umbrian masters. Various Madonna pictures on the walls of houses in his native town of Assisi, especially a large one over the gate of S. Giacomo, and a fresco in the convent of S. Andrea, are with probability ascribed to him; also a delicate fresco of St. Michael, in the possession of Count Gualtieri at Orvieto, and a Madonna with Saints and Angels in the Louvre, with some others. A beautiful Madonna with sitting Saints, in the left transept of S. Spirito at Florence, dated 1505, is perhaps wrongly given to Ingegno. In conception of form and drapery it recalls Ghirlandajo and Filippino Lippi, while the tender loveliness of the Madonna and Child, and the intense devotion of the Saints, are thoroughly Peruginesque. Ingegno appears to have renounced painting early, and to have devoted himself exclusively to civil affairs. That he competed with Raphael, and early became blind, is a story which does not well agree with our more certain accounts of him.<sup>1</sup>

Next to Raphael, the most distinguished of Perugino's undoubted scholars is the Spaniard Giovanni, called *Lo Spagna*, who afterwards settled in Spoleto. So long as he remained true to the character of the school, he developed a peculiar beauty and feeling for form, by which his works are distinguished above all those of his fellow-painters. Later, however, being tempted from his original paths by the lustre of Raphael, he fell into a mere imitation of the great master, in which his former excellence is hardly recognisable. He retains his similarity to Perugino most in his fresco of the Madonna with four Saints, now in the Sala of the Palazzo del Consiglio at Spoleto (painted soon after 1500).<sup>2</sup> Of great excellence, also, are an Entombment in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime, near Trevi, and a Coronation of the Virgin, with Saints

<sup>1</sup> Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, ii. 324. [Passavant, who has given an account of Ingegno and Pinturicchio, together with the other masters of the school of Umbria, ascribes various works at Assisi, Urbino, and Orvieto to Ingegno, besides the Madonna and Child, in the chapel of the Conservatori of the Capitol, above-mentioned. See Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino*, i. 501, 503.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [A tempera picture of the Virgin and Child with St. John, in the National Gallery, and there ascribed to Perugino, is more probably the work of this painter.—Ed.]

of the Franciscan order, and other works, in the convent of S. Martino, also at Trevi, executed about 1512. Lo Spagna's best picture, painted 1516, is in the chapel of S. Stefano, in S. Francesco at Assisi, representing the Madonna enthroned, with three Saints on each side. These are grand and severe figures, but full of genuine feeling and purity, and remarkable for grace and nobleness. That which is so attractive in the early pictures of Raphael is here followed out in the happiest manner. In the Stanza di S. Francesco, in the choir of the church Degli Angeli at Assisi, he painted a series of the companions of the Saint, in fresco: these again are beautiful and dignified figures. The Acts of St. James, in the church of S. Jacopo, between Spoleto and Fuligno, painted in 1526, are excellent works, while, on the other hand, other frescoes in the same church, painted between 1527 and 1530, impress the mind painfully with a sense of the painter's feebleness.

Another scholar of Perugino, Eusebio di S. Giorgio, displayed powers of a more elevated nature, though little that he produced is now known. An Adoration of the Kings, in S. Agostino at Perugia, is powerfully and livelily conceived. Two frescoes in the cloisters of S. Damiano at Assisi, an Annunciation, and St. Francis receiving the Stigmata (1507), are finely understood, and full of life and grand effect. An excellent altar-piece in the Franciscan church at Matelica (ten miles from Fabriano) shows a successful aim at the manner of Leonardo and Raphael. No later works by Eusebio are known, though he lived considerably beyond that time.

The other scholars of Perugino, with whose works the churches of Perugia and the neighbouring country overflow, imitated his manner, without, however, rivalling him in depth or power of colouring. Among these may be mentioned Giannicola (Manni): an altar-piece by him, consisting of a clever series of figures, is in the Academy at Perugia; another is over the high altar of S. Tommaso, in the same town. The names of Berto di Giovanni, Tiberio d'Assisi, Francesco Melanzio, Sinibaldo Ibi, and Girolamo Genga may be added to the last. Adone Doni at first followed the same general style, but afterwards adopted that of the Roman school formed

by Raphael. A graceful Adoration of the Kings in his first manner is in S. Pietro at Perugia.<sup>1</sup> Domenico di Paris, Alfani and his son Orazio, are of the same class. A graceful and finished Holy Family by one or the other is in the tribune of the Uffizj at Florence.

Lastly, we find among Perugino's scholars the Florentines Francesco Ubertini, surnamed Il Bacchiacca, who usually painted small pictures filled with figures, and Rocco Zoppo, whose peculiar hardness reminds us of his relation Marco Zoppo, with whom he was perhaps professionally associated. An Adoration of the Kings, inscribed with his name, is in the Berlin Museum.

Long after the death of Perugino, until the latter half of the sixteenth century, the painters of Perugia imitated his manner and clung to his mode of conception, when the intrusion of a few artists of a naturalistic tendency at once put an end to these feeble remains of a once great and admirable aim.

Some contemporaries of Perugino in the neighbouring states followed a similar general manner, and may be considered in connection with the Umbrian school.

Giovanni da Faenza, for instance, justly ranks as a forerunner of Raphael, inasmuch as he united the grace of the Umbrian school with the depth and purity of the old Florentine. In the convent of the Serviti, in his native town (now the Gymnasium), a standing figure of the Madonna, with the Child in the act of benediction, with Angels and Saints, is still preserved, painted 1506.

Among the more distinguished of these painters was Giovanni Santi of Urbino,<sup>2</sup> the father of Raphael. The style of this master is simple and serious, and of conscientious finish: a quiet gentleness characterises his heads, and especially his children's heads, which are occasionally of the greatest loveliness. He wants, however, the depth of the Umbrian masters, properly so called, and his colouring has a peculiar light,

<sup>1</sup> [Adone Doni painted some Sibyls in S. Francesco, at Assisi, late in the sixteenth century. It has been sometimes erroneously asserted that Raphael imitated them, but they were done long after the great artist's death.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Elogio storico di Giovanni Santi, pittore e poeta, Urbino, 1822.* See especially Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi*, Leipzig, 1839, vol. i. p. 11.

leaden tone, deficient in warmth. His outlines are also frequently hard. In his forms he shows no near affinity to Perugino, but rather a tendency to those of Mantegna. It is also well known that Giovanni was intimate with Melozzo da Forlì. His earlier pictures are generally found in the March of Ancona. For instance, a pleasing but not thoroughly studied Visitation of the Virgin, in S. Maria Nuova at Fano; a Madonna with four Saints of a freer grace and grander cast of drapery, in the hospital church of S. Croce at the same place; a so-called Madonna del Popolo, protecting the faithful with her mantle, with a lively, individual, and even almost humorous head, in the hospital oratory at Montefiore; and a Madonna with four Saints, of a serious and mild character, dated 1484, in the Pieve at Gradara, not far from Pesaro. An Annunciation of his early time, harsh in drawing and colouring, and of no great merit, is in the Brera at Milan. A Madonna enthroned, also, with St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Jerome, St. Catherine, and St. Thomas the Apostle, with the donor, of unequal style, and in some respects strictly of the Mantegna manner, is in the Berlin Museum.

Giovanni's most developed pictures are, however, chiefly those which were executed in Urbino: for example, a St. Sebastian and archers—the latter in vigorous and successful foreshortening—with figures of the donors, is in the oratory of St. Sebastian at Urbino; a Madonna with Saints, of almost Florentine character, of the year 1489, is at Montefiorentino, not far from Urbina; also one of his chief pictures, and of the same year, in S. Francesco at Urbino, the Madonna with Saints and donors (these latter not the portraits of his own family, as is currently believed), with two side pictures of Saints, whose drapery clearly points to Mantegna and others. Finally, Giovanni is seen in his highest beauty in the frescoes of the church of the Dominicans at Cagli (Cappella Tiranni), of the year 1492, representing a Madonna enthroned, Angels and Saints; with the Resurrection and the First Person of the Trinity, surrounded by cherubs, above; also an Annunciation and a dead Christ, with two Saints. His drawing is here not only fuller and more animated, and his colouring fresher, than in his other works, but in the expression of many

of the figures he approaches the grace of his son Raphael. The fresco of the Madonna in Giovanni's own house at Urbino, which has enjoyed the reputation of being Raphael's earliest work, is now acknowledged to be by the hand of his father.<sup>1</sup>

Marco Palmezzano of Forlì is much severer in style; there are several clever pictures by him in the Berlin Museum; there is also a specimen in the Brera at Milan.

But an artist more important than either of these, and equal in rank with Perugino, is Francesco Raibolini of Bologna, commonly called Francesco Francia<sup>2</sup> (born about 1450, died 1517). A strong affinity exists between them, but in Francia the enthusiastic sentimentality of Perugino is moderated; a freer and more engaging openness appears in its stead, without any deficiency of deep and fervent feeling. Of Francia's education in art nothing circumstantial is known. Originally a goldsmith, and celebrated for the execution of dies for coins and medals, it is said that he turned his attention to painting at an advanced age, from pure love of the art. A strong inducement to this step may perhaps be found in the circumstance that Giovanni Bentivoglio, who at this time exercised an almost princely authority in Bologna, wished to adorn his palace in a princely manner, and for this purpose invited several painters from the neighbouring states; of these, Francesco Cossa and Lorenzo Costa have been already mentioned. Francia's efforts in painting are said to have first excited observation in a picture executed in 1490, at the instance of the Felicini family, for S. Maria della Misericordia; after which Giovanni Bentivoglio commissioned him to paint the altar-piece for his chapel in S. Giacomo Maggiore. The first (now in the Gallery at Bologna) represents a Madonna enthroned and the Saints Augustine, Francis, Proclus, and Monica, John the Baptist, and Sebastian. It is a very satisfactory work of art, especially in its warmth of colouring and depth of expression. The St. Sebastian is here represented

<sup>1</sup> An excellent Madonna with Children and Saints, now in the Berlin Museum, was formerly erroneously inscribed with Giovanni Santi's name. It is now recognised as the work of Timoteo della Vite.

<sup>2</sup> Gio. Aless. Calvi, *Memorie della vita e delle opere di Franc. Raibolini, detto il Francia, Bologna, 1812,*

as a beautiful youth, looking upwards with an ingenuous, enthusiastic air.<sup>1</sup> The altar-picture of the Bentivoglio chapel, a Madonna enthroned, with four Saints and four Angels, is not less excellent.<sup>2</sup> That the masterly picture of the Misericordia, which perhaps is not equalled by any of the later easel-pictures of Francia, can be the earliest work of any painter, is not at all probable. In accordance with the customary progress of artists, we should expect to find in all early works some evidences of experiment, some indications of the steps which have led to the development of a particular style. It has been supposed that the progress of Francia may have been assisted by the study of the works of Perugino,<sup>3</sup> and this appears to be borne out by the general similarity of their style. The progressive steps may, we think, be traced in some paintings which we have ventured to ascribe to Francia: these are the frescoes in the lunettes of the Bentivoglio chapel. The execution and expression in those near the windows, and on the opposite walls, in parts which have not been retouched, are decidedly in Francia's own manner, but the drapery is still essentially Peruginos's.<sup>4</sup> This imitation disappears, however, entirely in the lunettes over the altar, where, always excepting the subsequent restorations, the manner of Francia appears completely formed. On the other hand, Francia's pictures, in their more cheerful, open cha-

<sup>1</sup> It is to be remarked that this picture is inscribed with the name of the master and the year MCCCCLXXXIII., thus contradicting the above date, which is given on the authority of Vasari, but the last ciphers (III) are more faint, and consequently have either faded or have been more lately added. [The above description of the expression of St. Sebastian is quite applicable to the figure of the same saint in the fine specimen of Francia in the National Gallery.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> [And far more interesting—first, as free (1854) from all touch of Bolognese Art as practised in the nineteenth century—secondly, as containing portraits of the donor's family in which the exact and difficult mean between naturalism and spiritual idealism has been attained with consummate skill. No picture, perhaps, gives evidence of study more affectionate and amorous than Francia has here lavished on the two Angel-children of the Bentivoglio as they sit side by side on the steps of the Virgin's throne, crowned with roses and a beauty rare even in the nurseries of England.—P.]

<sup>3</sup> See Quandt, Translation of Lanzi, iii. p. 18, note.

<sup>4</sup> Malvasia (*Felsina pittrice*, Lor. Costa) ascribes these pictures, together with those on the walls underneath, to Lorenzo Costa. But not only are the upper ones painted in fresco, whilst the under are in oil on canvas (which would be singular if the work of one master), but the style and whole character of the two series differ essentially.

racter, as compared with Perugino's, appear to have some affinity with the Venetian school. This is observable in a beautiful Holy Family, in the Berlin Museum, painted for Bartolommeo Bianchini, which in many respects resembles the pictures of Giovanni Bellini. At the same time Francia always retains that expression of unearthly sentiment which characterizes Perugino, though with him it is accompanied by a fresher and less ideal type of head. A Madonna and Child of the year 1495, in the collection of Lord Ward, much resembles the picture just mentioned in the Berlin Museum, only that it appears to be of still earlier date.

The best of Francia's works are in the frescoes in S. Cecilia at Bologna, a small church near S. Giacomo, which now unhappily serves as a public passage, where these already dust-covered and injured paintings are hastening to destruction. They are scenes from the life of St. Cecilia, partly executed by Francia himself, partly by his scholars from his designs. The composition in these pieces is extremely simple, without any superfluous accessory figures: the particular moments of action are conceived and developed in an excellent dramatic style. We have here the most noble figures, the most beautiful and graceful heads, an intelligible arrangement and pure taste in the drapery, and masterly landscape backgrounds. The most remarkable of these paintings is the Marriage of St. Cecilia, which, as well as the opposite one—her Interment—is entirely the work of Francia himself. In the others the assistance of his scholars is perceptible; in some, coarse re-touchings of a later period are apparent.

The Gallery at Bologna contains, beside the picture above mentioned, a series of very excellent works by Francia. His paintings are not uncommon in foreign galleries. One of the most beautiful is in Munich—Christ, as a child, lying in a garden within a rose-trellis; his mother in the act of sinking on her knees before him, her hands crossed upon her breast. The portrait of Vangelista Scappi, in the Uffizj at Florence, well deserves attention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The Borghese Collection contains—besides other excellent Francias—a Peter Martyr of gemlike radiance in colour and drawing, of astonishing truth and severity.]

Francia afterwards entered into a friendly correspondence with Raphael. He died in 1517, shortly after the arrival in Bologna of Raphael's St. Cecilia—a picture in which art exhibits its highest and freest development. The story goes, that the overpowering impression of this picture was the death of the venerable painter.<sup>1</sup>

Francia's Madonnas were frequently imitated by his scholars, and not all that are ascribed to him in collections were really the work of his own hand. Among his best scholars, his cousin and son, Giulio and Giacomo Francia, may be mentioned; they continued to practise the manner of their master, but never equalled its beauty and dignity, nor its depth of expression. There are numerous pictures by them in the Berlin Museum, the Gallery at Bologna, and other places. Amico Aspertini, another artist from the school of Francia, was a capricious and fantastical painter; he united the manner of his master with that of the school of Ferrara. A pleasing fresco by him, Diana and Endymion, with shepherds conversing in front, is in the Palazzo della Viola at Bologna. Two of his pictures are also in the Berlin Museum. His brother Guido Aspertini resembles him, but is less wild. An Adoration of the Kings by him, in the Gallery at Bologna, is an agreeable picture, though somewhat fantastical. The frescoes of a whole chapel in S. Frediano at Lucca are ascribed to Aspertini.

The most important of Francia's scholars is Lorenzo Costa of Ferrara, already mentioned (p. 226). His early works bear the stamp of the Paduan school. In his later ones, on the contrary, executed in the first years of the sixteenth century, we observe the decided influence of Francia; the influence, for example, of the frescoes in S. Cecilia, in which Costa assisted: he frequently designates himself as Francia's scholar in pictures of this period. The imitation of other styles appears

<sup>1</sup> Respecting this much-disputed question, see the German translation of Vasari, vol. ii. p. 353. That Francia did not die of envy is sufficiently proved by his unvarying friendly intercourse with Raphael, as well as from the enthusiastic sonnet he addressed to him. See the same work, p. 350. [A beautiful specimen of his sweetest composition and colour—Saints adoring the Trinity—is preserved, or rather is decaying, within the Baptistry of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia.]



to have co-operated in his development; this may be accounted for by an early residence in Florence. Among the best of Costa's works is an altar-picture, of 1502, in the Gallery at Bologna—St. Petronius enthroned, and two other Saints—a picture of simple dignity and beauty. Another is in S. Petronio at Bologna. In the Louvre, also, is a picture representing the Princess Isabella of Ferrara crowned by Love, with many other figures; the whole much in the style of a graceful fable. Several other specimens are in the Berlin Museum: of these a Presentation in the Temple, with Saints, a Sibyl and a Prophet, dated 1502, and an Entombment, 1504—a composition of unaffected and harmonious repose, with figures distinguished by a bland dignity of character—may be particularly mentioned. At Mantua, where Costa resided during his latter years, there is an excellent altar-piece by him—a Madonna and several Saints—in the church of S. Andrea. The other scholars of Francia belong to a succeeding chapter.

The school of Siena, also, which, before its total decline in the first half of the fifteenth century, had acted upon the Umbrian, now received an impulse back again from that school, which, with other influences, led to its partial revival about the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It is to be supposed that the works of Pinturicchio, in the Libreria of the Cathedral of Siena, principally contributed to this reaction, which was soon further assisted by a tendency to imitate the manner of Leonardo da Vinci. The works of two Sienese painters, Andrea del Brescianino (about 1520), and Bernardino Fungai (about 1512), of whom a few specimens are preserved in Siena, evince a relationship to the Umbrian mode of conception. A large altar-piece by the first-named, with highly solemn and graceful figures, is in the Sienese

<sup>1</sup> See 'Raccolta delle più celebri pitture esistenti nella città di Siena: Firenze, 1825.' (It contains one plate from A. del Brescianino, two from Pacchiorotto, three from Razzi, &c.) [The Sienese Collection contains many specimens by painters of the close of the fifteenth century—as Bartolommeo Landi and Bernardino Fungai—worthy the student's careful attention. Of more than Byzantine rudeness in execution, and insipidity of feature, traces of the "modern" style of contemporary Florentines contrast with their general barbarism in a manner most curious and repulsive. These pale white forms are the spectral relics of a past spiritual world, awaiting flight before the intrusion of actual life, with its energetic and discordant passions.—P.]

Academy; and a Coronation of the Virgin, by the latter, in the little church of Fonte Giusta, may be mentioned as a simple and severe picture. Jacopo Pacchiorotto, their contemporary, is of greater repute: most of his works display a free and happy imitation of Perugino, often combined with a peculiar grace and grandeur of his own; in some instances, however, we perceive a modern manner, which does not quite harmonise with his style. The Academy at Siena possesses various specimens by his hand. In the Sienese churches there are also several of his works. Among them the frescoes of S. Caterina and S. Bernardino are very remarkable. In the church of St. Catherine especially there is a representation of St. Catherine of Siena, on her pilgrimage to discover the body of St. Agnes of Montepulciano, which is of the tenderest grace and beauty. His Birth and Annunciation of the Virgin, also, in the church of S. Bernardino, are distinguished by the same qualities. After this a new tendency ensued in Sienese art in the person of Gianantonio Razzi, commonly called Sodoma, who stands on a level with the great masters of the sixteenth century, and will be described in the next volume, p. 413.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### SCHOOL OF NAPLES.<sup>1</sup>

BEFORE we dismiss the history of Art of the fifteenth century we must turn our attention to the school of Naples, in which many different influences are apparent.

Colantonio del Fiore had already, as before mentioned, introduced here the new tendency of the fifteenth century. Towards the middle of that century, however, we observe the phenomenon of a very limited number of works of art, and those from a distant country—brought over by commission or barter—deciding, in great measure, the style of a whole school. Those works of art were Flemish paintings, some of

<sup>1</sup> See the author's essay, 'Von den älteren Malern Neapels,' in the *Museum*, 1835, Nos. 43-49.

them by the hands of the brothers Van Eyck themselves, which served as models to the Neapolitan artists. A large Adoration of the Kings, in the chapel of the Castello Nuovo at Naples, formerly ascribed to Johann van Eyck, is now acknowledged to belong to a later period. A picture in the Studj gallery, the St. Jerome already mentioned, is, however, the undoubted work of Hubert van Eyck; and many others have been probably lost. The short reign of King René of Anjou, who was learned in the school of Flanders, must be also taken into consideration. According to tradition, he himself instructed Colantonio in this style. The spirit of the fifteenth century, it is true, would, even without this contingency, have asserted its influence upon Neapolitan Art; but the manner in which this spirit was developed was, at all events for some time, entirely derived from the Northern masters. At the same time it was more in external features that the Flemish style obtained; in the greater finish of the accessories, in the landscape, the flow of the drapery, &c., while the general conception of the figures indicates rather an affinity with the Umbrian masters. A connection also with the Spanish school may be recognised on examining the pictures of this time, and may be sufficiently accounted for by the dominion in Naples of an Arragonese dynasty after 1435.

The painter with whose name this Neapolitan school of the fifteenth century is chiefly associated was Antonio Solario, the son-in-law of Colantonio, surnamed *Lo Zingaro*, or the Gipsy, from his early calling. He is said to have been a smith, and to have learned the Art out of love to Colantonio's daughter. His date is placed between the years 1382 and 1455, but this is not in accordance with the works ascribed to him; they appear to belong rather to the second half of the century. Several pleasing pictures by him are in the gallery of the Museo Borbonico. In character they may be said to hold a middle place between the school of Umbria and the German school of the fifteenth century. The Flemish manner is less perceptible here. The most remarkable of them is a *Madonna and Child*, enthroned between several saints, as large as life; the heads are living and almost portrait-like, of serious more than noble expression, and broad in treatment; the drapery

rather heavy, and the positions not very animated.<sup>1</sup> Next to this may be mentioned a picture in S. Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples, which represents St. Francis giving the rules of his Order to several monks; it has a grand and animated truth of character. The frescoes in the court of the monastery of S. Severino, still more important, are also ascribed to Zingaro. They consist of twenty large pictures from the history of St. Benedict, simple and very clever compositions, with no very grand type of heads, but of delicate modelling and good colouring. They are particularly distinguished by the fine landscape backgrounds, a very rare accompaniment to Italian frescoes, and not to be found in such perfection elsewhere at this early period. These paintings unhappily have suffered much, and in modern times have been barbarously retouched.<sup>2</sup>

Among Zingaro's scholars two brothers, Pietro and Ippolito Donzelli, are especially distinguished. Excellent pictures by both, approaching tolerably near to the manner of their master, are to be met with in the churches of Naples and in the Museum. Sometimes they appear to resemble Perugino, sometimes the Venetians, but always with the before-mentioned affinity to the Germans. Pietro is the best artist; among his first works are two pictures of female saints (placed on either side of a less agreeable figure of St. Francis), in S. Maria la Nuova, and a Madonna with angels, in the Museum.

Simone Papa, the elder, is said to have been a scholar of Zingaro. Of all the Neapolitan painters he was the one who adhered most to the style of the Van Eycks. Several of his pictures are in the Museo Borbonico; the best represents the Archangel Michael with other saints, and the donors. The figure of the archangel is a direct imitation of the Michael in the celebrated Dantzie picture of the Last Judgment; the

<sup>1</sup> There are doubts even in regard to this picture. But, in order not to increase the confusion in which this dark passage in the History of Art is involved, we will merely mention two pictures in the large side chapel of the cathedral of Amalfi, without attempting to pronounce to what masters they belong. The one is a Pietà with two Saints, much resembling the large Madonna picture ascribed to Zingaro; the other a Madonna with two Saints, of dignified and mild expression, with a Dead Christ above, which shows an affinity to Donzelli.

<sup>2</sup> [The series has been engraved: *Le Pitture dello Zingaro nel chiostro di S. Severino in Napoli*, da Stanislao d'Aloe, Napoli, 1846.—ED.]

character of the landscape is also Flemish. The broad and flatly-treated heads can, however, in no way be compared to the Van Eycks; and though the brilliancy of their colouring is evidently aimed at, it is far from being attained. For the rest, Simone is not an artist of much importance.

The most attractive of the Neapolitan artists who flourished toward the close of the fifteenth century is Silvestro de' Buoni, formed in the schools of Zingaro and Donzelli. His best work is in the old basilica of S. Restituta, now united with the Duomo of Naples: it represents the Virgin with the Archangel Michael and S. Restituta. This very distinguished work has a striking affinity in some respects with the Umbrian school, and in others resembles not less the animated, cheerful manner of the Venetians of this time. The figures are beautiful and dignified, but without constraint or Peruginesque mannerism; a beautiful warm tone pervades the whole. Similar works of Silvestro are in other churches (for example, an Ascension of Christ in that of Monte Oliveto) and in the Museum of Naples.

Antonio d'Amato il Vecchio is said to have been a scholar of Silvestro, and to have formed his style afterwards on the works of Perugino, whose manner he in fact approaches very nearly. In S. Severino there is a beautiful picture by him, representing several angels.

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